

up to Satagan, I saw this village standing with a great number of people, with an infinite number of ships and bazaars, and at my return coming down with my Captain of the last ship, for whom I tarried, I was all amazed to see such a place so soon raised and burnt, and nothing left but the sign of the burnt houses. The small ships go to Satagan, and there they lade. . The city of Satagan is a reasonable fair city for a city of the Moors, abounding with all things, and was governed by the King of Patane, and now is subject to the great Mogul. I was in this kingdom four months, whereas many merchants did buy or freight boats for their benefits, and with these barks they go up and down the river Ganges to fairs, buying their commodity with a great advantage, because that every day in the week they have a fair now in one place, and now in another."

The necessity of supplementing this method of trade by having a permanent entrepot led to the Portuguese making a settlement at Hooghly. This village is mentioned in a Bengali poem, dated 1495,* and apparently marked the southernmost end of the port of Sātgāon. The river, which had been silting up before Sātgāon, was fairly deep here, and therefore better suited to the larger vessels of the Portuguese. It is commonly believed that the Portuguese settled at Hooghly about or after 1575 with the permission of the Emperor Akbar; but of this there is no authentic proof. They could not have settled here before 1550 because the great Portuguese history *Da Asia* (Vols. I to III published in 1552-63) makes no mention of it, and its map does not show the place. On the other hand, it must have been founded before 1580, in which year Mirzā Najat Khān, Akbar's *Faujdar* at Sātgāon, being defeated by Katlu Lohāni of Orissa, fled to the Portuguese Governor of Hooghly.† Furthermore, if reliance is to be placed in the *Bādehāhndām* of Abdul Hamid Lahori (who died in 1654), the settlement took place during the rule of the Bengalis, i.e., before the Mughal conquest. As the river bank from Tribeni southwards was in the possession of the Oriyā king from 1560 to 1567, the statement of the Muhammadan chronicler narrows down the time of the settlement to between 1568 and 1575, and very probably to the reign of Sulaimān Kararāni (1568-73). From the fact that Federici does not refer to Hooghly but only Sātgāon, it would appear that the village was not then of sufficient importance to be mentioned separately from Sātgāon, of which it evidently formed a part at the outset.

* J. A. S. B. Proc. 1862, p. 152.

† *Abhīnāma*, I. c. Blochmann, *Abī-l-Abbārī*, I. p. 440.

The *Bāddhanāmā* describes the origin and development of the town as follows*—"Under the rule of the Bengalis (*dar'ahd-i-Bangdīyān*), a party of Frank merchants, who are (*sic were*) inhabitants of Sandip, came trading to Sātgāon: One *kos* above (*sic below*) that place, they occupied some ground on the bank of the estuary. Under the pretence that a building was necessary for their transactions in buying and selling, they erected several houses in the Bengali style. In course of time, through the ignorance or negligence of the rulers of Bengal, these Europeans increased in number, and erected large substantial buildings, which they fortified with cannons, muskets, and other implements of war. In due course a considerable place grew up, which was known by the name of the port of Hooghly. On one side of it was the river, and on the other three sides was a ditch filled from the river. European ships used to go up to the port, and a trade was established there. The markets of Sātgāon declined and lost their prosperity. The villages and the district of Hooghly were on both sides of the river, and these the Europeans got possession of at a low rent."

This description is corroborated by some contemporaneous references. The *Akbarnāmā* says that in 1578 an European named Partab Bār, a chief merchant of the Bengal ports, came with his wife to the Emperor's court bearing tribute from Bengal. He was graciously received, his sound sense and upright conduct winning the favour and esteem of the Emperor.† This evidently was the Portuguese Governor of Hooghly, to whom Mirza Najat fled for protection in 1580. About 1588 Ralph Fitch found Hooghly in the sole possession of the Portuguese, and the name Porto Piqueno transferred to it. He refers to it as "Hugeli, which is the place where the Portugals keep in the country of Bangala, which standeth a league from Satagan; they call it Porto Piqueno" "Satagam," he adds, "is a faire citie for a citie of the Moores and very plentiful of all things."‡ Hooghly had supplanted Sātgāon by the time the *Ain-i-Akbari* was compiled (1596-97), for it states that in the *sarkar* of Sātgāon there were two ports at the distance of half a *kos* from each other, i.e., Sātgāon and Hooghly. The latter was the more important, and both were in the possession of the Europeans (*Firangis*, i.e., the Portuguese).§ In 1599 the number and influence of the Christians were attested by the erection of the

* Elliot, VII, pp. 31-32; cf. Vol. VII, p. 211, for Khāfi Khān's account (mainly based on the *Bāddhanāmā*.)

† *Akbarnāmā*, Elliot, VI, p. 59.

‡ J. H. Ryley, Ralph Fitch, p. 118; cf. Linschoten, translation, I, pp. 90-91.

§ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 125.

Bandel Church;* while in 1603, Hooghly, under the name of Golin, is described as a Portuguese Colony, and it is said that a Portuguese named Cervalins captured the Mughal fort with a garrison of 400 men, all but one of whom were killed †

By this time the Portuguese in Bengal had degenerated into a race of pirates and slave-dealers. Both European and Indian writers agree as to their lawlessness. Van Linschoten, for instance, writing in 1595, describes them as living 'like wild men and untamed horses. Every man doth what he will, and every man is lord and master.' Purchas again wrote in 1610:—"The Portuguese have here Porto Grande and Porto Pequeno (Hooghly), but without forts and government; every man living after his own lust, and for the most part they are such as dare not stay in those places of better government for some wickedness by them committed."

The Hooghly merchants were apparently in league with the pirates, both Portuguese and Arakanese, whose galleys swept the sea-board and penetrating far inland carried off the villagers to the slave markets "Even the Portuguese of 'Ogouli,'" writes Bernier, "purchased without scruple these wretched captives, and the horrid traffic was transacted in the vicinity of the island of Galles near Cape das Palmas.‡ The pirates, by a mutual understanding, waited for the arrival of the Portuguese, who bought whole cargoes at a cheap rate The Portuguese established themselves at 'Ogouli' under the auspices of Jahāngir, the grandfather of Aurangzeb. That prince was free from all prejudice against Christians, and hoped to reap great benefit from their commerce. The new settlers also engaged to keep the Gulf of Bengal clear of pirates. Shāh Jahān, a more rigid Muhammadan than his father, visited the Portuguese at 'Ogouli' with a terrible punishment. They provoked his displeasure by the encouragement afforded to the depredators of 'Rakan,' and by their refusal to release the numerous slaves in their service, who had all of them been subjects of the Mughal."§

Other writers assign different reasons for the attack on Hooghly. According to the Portuguese, they incurred the displeasure of

* Both Hamid Lāhorī and Khāṣṣ Khān speak of a *Kalwā*, or church of the Portuguese, in Hooghly. Elliot, VII, pp. 34, 311. *Kalwā* is perhaps a corruption of *coertia*.

† Toynbee's *Sketch of the Administration of the Hooghly District*, p. 4. The authority for this statement is not given.

‡ Now called Palmyras Point, a well known headland on the Orissa coast.

§ As early as 1518 a Portuguese report stated that a slave in Bengal was valued at 14 shillings and a young woman of good appearance at about as much again. W. W. Hunter, *History of British India*, Vol. I, p. 161.

Shāh Jahān, firstly, because in 1621, when he was in rebellion against his father, Michael Rodriguez, the Governor of Hooghly, declined to assist him with some cannon and a detachment of Europeans,* and secondly, because the Emperor ascribed the reverses of the imperial troops in several engagements with Adil Khān of Bijapur to help received from the Portuguese.† The Muhammadan histories say that the Portuguese, partly by force, but even more by means of doles, converted people to Christianity, that they seized and carried off peaceful cultivators, harassed travellers and traders, were irregular in the payment of revenue, etc.

Whatever may have been the cause, Shāh Jahān, in appointing Kāsim Khān to the government of Bengal, charged him to extirpate the Portuguese colony.‡ His orders were promptly obeyed. The attack was made from the river and by land an outpost outside the moat was captured, and four thousand boatmen serving the Portuguese were forced to join the imperial army. The siege lasted 3½ months, the Portuguese fighting valiantly in the hope of being succoured from Goa. At length a part of the wall was blown up by a mine, and the imperial army captured the place. A number of the besieged made their way to the ships, but many were killed in the attempt. One large ship was blown up to prevent its capture; and out of 64 Portuguese ships and 257 smaller craft, only three of the latter escaped. According to the Muhammadan historians, 10,000 of the enemy were killed, and 4,400 (1,400 according to Khāfi Khān) were taken prisoners, while 1,000 of the imperial army fell in the course of the siege.§ The Portuguese accounts say, however, that the garrison consisted of only 200 Portuguese and 600 slaves, that the siege lasted from the 21st June to 29th September, and that the few who escaped fortified themselves on an island in front of Hooghly and were eventually rescued by an expedition sent by the Portuguese Viceroy.** The date of the capture of the town is taken in this account to be October 1631, but others make it September 1632. The number given in the Portuguese accounts is too small, for Father Francis Corsi, S. J., in a letter from Agra, dated October 5,

* Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 143.

† F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, II, p. 247.

‡ *Bādshāhā-nāmā* of Abdul Hamid Lāhorī, *Muntakkabul-lubab* of Khāfi Khān, *Masir-ul-Umara*, *Riyāz-u-s-Salatin*.

§ The *Bādshāhā-nāmā* of Abdul Hamid Lāhorī, Elliot VII, p. 35; Stewart's *History of Bengal*, pp. 152-5.

** F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. II, pp. 247-48. According to the *Bādshāhā-nāmā*, the siege of Hooghly lasted from 11th June to 10th September 1632.

1633, announced the arrival of 4,000 persons at Agra from Hooghly in July 1633.*

Historians agree as to the wretched fate of the prisoners whom Shah Jahān had carried off as slaves to Agra. There the women were distributed among the harems, the children were circumcised, the men were persuaded to embrace Islam or forced to do so by the daily threat of throwing them under the feet of elephants. Some of the monks, however, remained faithful to their creed, and were conveyed to Goa and other Portuguese settlements by the exertions of the Jesuit missionaries at Agra. These faithful monks were apparently Augustinians, to whom the evangelization of Bengal had been entrusted.

According to an account by Dr Wise, the return of the Portuguese was due to a miracle. One of the priests, the Revd. Father John Da Cruz, was sentenced to be torn to death by an elephant; but the animal, instead of destroying him, prostrated itself before him and 'caressed' him with its trunk. The Emperor then ordered that the priest should be let out of the arena, and promised him any boon he might ask, on which he asked for his own liberty and permission to conduct the surviving Christians to Bengal. "A *pharmān* was promulgated by beat of drum through all the country, ordering the immediate return of the captives, who were loaded with presents and sent back to their former residence. The Portuguese, thus received into favour, obtained a charter (*sanad*) signed by the Emperor, by which he allowed them to return to Hooghly and to build a town to the north of the former fort, still known by the Europeans as Bandel, and by the natives as Balāghar (strong house). The land thus assigned (777 *bighas*) was given free of rent, and the friars were declared exempted from the authority of the *subahdārs*, *faujdārs* and other officers of state. They were even allowed to exercise magisterial power over Christians, but not in matters of life and death. At the same time the Emperor ordered all his officers and subjects in Bengal to assist the brave Portuguese. The Christians returned to Bengal in 1633."† Toynbee also says that Da Cruz succeeded in inducing Shah Jahān to permit the Christian prisoners to be taken back to Bengal, and that the Emperor in 1646 granted 777 acres of rent-free land to Bandel Church, which was rebuilt by Mr. Solto in 1660.

* J. A. S. B., August 1910, pp. 458, note 2, 531.

† The above account is given in the *Bengal Catholic Herald* of 21st May 1842, and was taken from a Statistical Account of Hooghly prepared by Dr. Wise, who based it on 'Ms. Records,' without, however, stating their origin and nature.

Recent researches, however, show that there is no proof that Da Cruz was taken to Agra, but that he was wounded during the siege, recovered from his wounds in a village near Hooghly, and was eventually recalled to Goa, where he died.*

On the other hand, the return of the Portuguese in 1633 is confirmed from other sources. John Poule, writing on the chances of the English establishing trade in Bengal, distinctly says in a letter dated 17th July 1633, i.e., ten months after the capture of Hooghly, that the Portuguese who had been expelled from Hooghly had found great favour with Shah Jahān and re-entered that place to the number of 20 persons, and that the King had bestowed on them their capital, 'so that our expectation of Hugly is frustrayt.'† Not all the captives were released; many lingered in prison, "some were ransomed, others fled to Goa, or back to Bengal, where they joined the remuants of the defenders of Hooghly."‡ Father Antonio da Cristo, the Prior of Hooghly, was still in prison in 1640, when Father Manrique, an Augustinian, visited Agra and Lahore, the object of his mission being the release of the Hooghly prisoners. At Lahore he succeeded in obtaining the liberation of the prior and the restoration of some places of worship.§

Though readmitted to Hooghly, the Portuguese had sustained a crushing blow and ceased to have political influence in Bengal and to predominate in commerce. In the first twenty years of the 17th century the trade in Bengal had been practically monopolised by them, as was pointed out by the English factors of Surat in a letter dated 26th February 1616, stating that there was not now fit shipping for the discovery of Porto Pequenia (Hooghly), nor was it a fit place for English trade, part of the river Ganges being commanded by the Portuguese. It was stated, moreover, next year, that in Bengal there were no ports for small shipping but such as the Portuguese possessed.|| A few years later (in 1620) Hughes and Parker wrote as follows from Patna, where they were sent from Surat in order to found a factory:—"The Portuguese, of late years, have had a trade here in Patna, coming up with their frigates from the bottom of Bengal, where they have two ports, the one called

* The Revd. H. Hosten, Frey Joao Da Cruz, J. A. S. B., March 1911.

† W. Hedges' Diary, III, 177; l. c. also in the *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I.

‡ H. G. Keene, *Sketch of the History of Hindustan*, pp. 193-99. The authority quoted is a work of Manrique published at Rome in 1659. See also J. A. S. B., 1910, pp. 283-8.

§ *Original collections* 450, 458, l. c., *Diary II*, 171, 172.

Gollye, the other Pieppullye, and therein are licensed by this King to inhabit. Gollye is their chiefest port, where they are in great multitudes, and have their yearly shipping both from Malacca and Cochin. The commodities they usually bring up hither is for the most part tin, spices, and China wares, in lieu whereof they transport amberly, callicoes, carpets, and all sorts of their cloth, which they die into reds purposely for sail to the southwards. This city stands up on the Ganges, whose swift current transports their frigates with such dexterity that in five or six days they usually go up to their ports, but in repairing up again, spend thrice the time.”*

By 1644, however, we find Bocarro, after enumerating the number of ships and the rich merchandize that used to come to Cochinchina from Ugolim (Hooghly) and Porto Grande (Chittagong), complaining that ‘since these two possessions were lost and the two ports closed, there go barely one or two vessels to Orissa.’ The trade of the Portuguese also suffered from the competition of the Dutch, and, in the second half of the century, of the English. Still it was not entirely lost, for Portuguese vessels are frequently mentioned in the English correspondence, and as late as 1679 Thomas Bowrey remarked :—“ Many both great and small ships, both English, Dutch and Portugals, doe annually resort to lade and transport sundry commodities hence ”†, i.e., from Bengal. In the first half of the 18th century, the French, the Danes and the Prussians also entered the field ; and in the struggle the Portuguese succumbed.

In spite of the destruction of their power at Hooghly, the place appears still to have been occupied by a large number of Portuguese, partly because they were attracted there by trade and the cheapness of living,‡ and partly because they were forced to remain by the loss of their other stations. Tavernier wrote in 1676—“In a word, Bengale is a country abounding in all things; and 'tis for this very reason that so many Portuguese, Mesticks,§ and other Christians are fled thither from those quarters which the Dutch have taken from them.” “The Jesuits and Augustinians that have great churches there, wherein they exercise their religion with all freedom, did assure me that in Ogouli alone there were no less than eight or nine thousand souls of Christians.” Bernier

* W. Foster, *The English Factories in India (1618-1621)* 1908. Gollie is a corruption of Ogonli (Hooghly).

† *The Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 123.

‡ Cf. Bernier: “Pigs are obtained at so low a price that the Portuguese settled in the country live almost entirely upon pork.”

§ Mestico is a term still in use in the Philippines for a half-breed.

also gives the same account,* and several other writers of the period refer to the large number of Portuguese resident in Hooghly.† Most of them were poor, but industrious. Thomas Bowrey (1669-79) described some of their main occupations as follows:—"They knitt stockings of silke and cotton; they make bread for the Eughiah. and Dutch Factories and particular dwellinge houses, and for theire ships and vessels;‡ they make many sorts of sweetmeats, viz., Mangoe, Orange, Lemon, Ginger, Mirabolins, Ringo Roots, etc., several sorts of Achar pickles) as Mangoe, Bamboo, Lemon, etc. very good and cheape. Many of the Men Use the Sea in English or Moors ships and vessels, see that these people live very happily, better than in most places in Asia, all sorts of provisions beinge here very cheape." A number served the Mughals as soldiers, as Walter Clavell pointed out:—"The Portuguese, though numerous in Hugly, yett are reduced to a very low and meane condicione, their trade not worth mentioning, their subsistence beinge to be entertained in the Mogull's pay as souldiers."§ They also served under the English, chiefly in the Deccan, and several were artillerymen in the army of Siraj-ud daula.|| Gradually the Portuguese of Hooghly migrated to other European settlements, especially Calcutta. Orme noticed that more than two thousand Portuguese, men, women and children, crowded into Fort William when besieged by Siraj-ud daula's army, and a body of them helped the English in their defence.¶ A number were still left in Hooghly, however, for we find that when Siraj-ud-daula marched there after the massacre of the Black Hole, he levied a fine of Rs 5,000 from the Portuguese of the place.**

It remains to note that the Portuguese language for some time survived the extinction of the Portuguese power. It was the *lingua franca* of European settlements round the Bay of Bengal, and was the ordinary medium of communication between Europeans and their domestics, while Persian was the language of

* *Travels in the Mughul Empire*, 1656-58, pp. 488-89, quoted in ch. II, pp. 31-2. *

† Bowrey, p. 191; Clavell's, i.e., *Diary of William Hedges*, II, 240; John Marshall, Notes and Observations, p. 6, i.e., Bowrey, p. 191, Note 1.

‡ Bernier tells us that in Bengal excellent and cheap sea biscuits were made for the crews of European ships.

§ Account of the Trade of Hugly, at the end of the *Diary of Stroynham Master*, p. 322, i.e. Hedges' Diary, II, p. 240.

|| S. C. Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. I, pp. 185, 140, 147.

¶ Orme's *History*, II, pp. 69, 61; Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. I, pp. 91, 102, 129, 144, 157, II, pp. 142, 190. Later, many were employed in Calcutta as writers of *Stavrianus* I, pp. 521-2; *Sair-al-Maztharia*, IV, p. 122.

** Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. I, p. civ.

intercourse with the native courts. The charter granted to the East India Company in 1698 contained a provision that the minister, who was to be maintained at each station, should learn Portuguese within twelve months; and Kiernander, the first Protestant missionary in Bengal, preached in that language as more familiar to him than English. Even as late as 1828 the Governor of Serampore received the daily report of his little garrison of thirty sepoys from the commandant, a native of Oudh, in Portuguese.*

THE
DUTCH.

The next European nation to settle in Bengal were the Dutch. Travellers and individual traders of that nation had visited Bengal before the 17th century, e.g., Van Linschoten, who passed through the country before 1589; but the earliest record of the arrival of Dutch ships in the north of the Bay was in 1615. In that year, we are told, a Portuguese fleet having sailed up the river of Arakan, the Rājā induced the masters of some Dutch vessels then in the harbour to assist him in attacking the enemy.† These Dutch ships probably belonged to the "United East Indian Company of the Netherlands" founded in 1602. It is not certain when the Dutch first settled in Bengal. Orme vaguely says that the Dutch settled in Bengal about the year 1625,‡ while Thomas Bowrey (1679) ascribes both the Dutch and the English factories at Hooghly to "much about the time of the horrid massacre of the English at Amboyna" (1623).§ These assertions, however, are not corroborated by contemporaneous records, and Yule has fairly proved that the factory of the English at Hooghly could not have been started before 1651.|| In the earliest reference to Dutch trade in the English factory records (dated 25th October 1634) no settlement of theirs is mentioned. It merely states that "spices of all sorts sells there to good profit, but the Dutch freemen from Battavia and Portugalls from Macassar did so stufte the Markets therewith last yeare, as now theres little or (none) required. Hereafter the Dutch Company (we believe) will doe the like, so we see not any great hope of gains by that commodity. Hitherto have we only shewed you what commodities Bengala does chiefly export and require.....The Dutch are never without 3 or 4 such vessels here, wherewith they trade from Port to Port all the yeare longe, sometimes buying Rice and other Provisions where they are Cheape and transport to Better Marketts, otherwhiles

* J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward* (1859), Vol. I, pp. 31, 32-33.

† Stewart's *History of Bengal*, pp. 133-9.

‡ *History of Hindostan*, II, p. 8.

§ *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 170.

|| Hedges' *Diary* III, pp. 194-7, 194.

they are employed as men of warr (but never Idle), and by these meanes they cleare at yeares end all the great charges they are att upon this coast."*

It is clear, however; that the Dutch had some settlement in Bengal before 1650, for in the instructions to the English factory staff of Balasore and Hobghly, dated the 14th December 1650, they are advised to give orders in silk and sugar " according to the Dutch " and to secure, with the help of Dr. Boughton at Rajmahal, such a *pharmān*, "as may outstrip the Dutch in point of privilege and freedom, that so they may not have cause any longer to boast of theirs."† As Hooghly was now the imperial port of West Bengal, it is most probable that the Dutch had their chief factory there some time before 1650, when they got a regular *pharmān* from Shah Jahān. It laid down "that, upon complaints being made by the Dutch, the Governor of Bengal is commanded that no one shall exact more from them than is authorized by ancient custom and shall not introduce any new laws or customs on that head."‡

The first Dutch factory adjoined the old English factory at Hooghly, and was swept away by floods, upon which the Dutch built a new factory lower down at Chinsura. It is said to have been built in 1656,§ and it was certainly in existence before 1665, when the Dutchman Gautier Schouten visited it and described it thus ||:—"There is nothing in it (Hooghly) more magnificent than the Dutch factory. It was built on a great space at the distance of a musket shot from the Ganges, for fear that, if it were nearer, some inundation of the waters of the river might endanger it, or cause it to fall. It has indeed more the appearance of a large castle than of a factory of merchants. The walls are high and built of stone, and the fortifications are also covered with stone. They are furnished with cannon, and the factory is surrounded by ditches full of water. It is large and spacious. There are many rooms to accommodate the Director, the other officers who compose the Council, and all the people of the Company. There are large shops built of stone, where goods that are bought in the country, and those that our vessels bring there, are placed." Thomas Bowrey did not hesitate to call it "the largest and completest Factorie in

* Hedges' Diary, III, 179.

† Ibid, III, 186.

‡ *Voyage to the East Indies*, J. S. Stavorinus, Translation, S. H. Wilcocks, Vol III, p. 84. The list of *pharmāns* given therein does not show any of 1656 relating to Bengal as stated in Teynbee's *Sketch*, p. 12.

§ "It was built in the year 1656, as appears by date over the hand-gate," Stavorinus, I, 516.

|| *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, 1658-65, II, 156.

Asia; Delestre described it as 'a very fine and very rich factory;' and the English Agent, Streynsham Master, as "very large and well built with two quadrangles,"* The common belief that it was fortified during the rebellion of Subha Singh in 1696† seems therefore to be without foundation, unless it refers to repairs and a further strengthening of the defences.

An interesting account of the settlement is also given by Tavernier, who visited it on 26th February 1666. "I arrived at Hughli, where I stayed till the 2nd of March, during which time the Hollanders bid me very welcome, and made it their business to show me all the divertisements which the country was capable to afford. We went several times in pleasure-boats upon the river, and we had a banquet of all the delicacies that the gardens of Europe could have afforded us; salads of all sorts, coleworts, asparagus, pease; but our chiefest dish was Japan beans, the Hollunders being very curious to have all sorts of pulse and herbs in their gardens, though they could never get artichokes to grow in that country."

During the reign of Aurangzeb the Dutch trade in Bengal was regulated by a *pharmān* granted by that Emperor in 1662, the first three articles of which provided — (1) that the Dutch arriving with their ships before *Hougly*, *Pipley* and *Ballasore*, shall have liberty to anchor in such places as they may choose; (2) that after payment of the fixed duty of two and a-half per cent. upon their goods, they may convey them to such places as they please; sell them to whatever merchants they chose; purchase again goods from the same in the manner they may like best, and employ brokers in their business, according to their own choice, without that any one shall be permitted to intrude himself into their service, contrary to their liking; (3) that with respect to the piece-goods, saltpetre, sugar, silk, wax and other articles for which they trade in the places situated in the provinces of *Bahar*, *Bengal* and *Orissa*, and which they convey for exportation to the ports of *Hougly*, *Pipley* and *Ballasore*, they shall not in any wise be molested‡. The goods specified in the last article may be compared with some of those mentioned by Clavell as being carried home by the Dutch, viz., rice, oil, butter, hemp, cordage, sail cloth, raw silk, wrought

* *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 169 and Note 1; *Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales*, 1677, p. 188; *Diary of S. Master*, under date 31st November 1676, p. 263.

† Orme, *History of Hindostan*, II, 16. The northern gate bore the date 1687, and the southern gate 1692, according to an article in the *Calcutta Review*, 1845, p. 512.

‡ J. B. Stavorinus, III, pp. 89-91.

silk, saltpetre, opium, sugar, long pepper and beeswax.* Tavernier and Bernier were amazed at the vast quantity of cotton cloths of all sorts which they exported.

Besides Fort Gustavus at Chinsura and a silk factory at Cossimbazar, the Dutch had, on the Hooghly river, a garden just south of Chandernagore, a factory for salting pork at Baranagar, north of Calcutta, and, later, a station at Fulta for seagoing ships. Their settlements and trade were generally under a Director aided by a Council, though occasionally an officer was deputed direct from Holland and was independent of the Director, who was himself subordinate to Batavia.† According to Alexander Hamilton, the factory of Chinsura in the beginning of the 18th century was a large building with high walls of brick. "The factors have a great many good houses standing pleasantly on the river's side; and all of them have pretty gardens to their houses. The settlement at Chinsura is wholly under the Dutch Company's Government. It is about a mile long, and about the same breadth, well inhabited by Armenians and the natives. It is contiguous to Hugli, and affords sanctuary for many poor natives, when they are in danger of being oppressed by the Moghul's Governor or his harpies."

The correspondence at this time discloses considerable jealousy between the rival European settlements, and no little friction with the Muhammadan subordinates in Bengal, who frequently interfered with the passage of the saltpetre and sugar boats and with the silk and cotton weavers.‡ The Dutch, who were eminently a nation of merchants, rarely took part in the political dissensions of Bengal, but on a few occasions they were forced to give up this policy of non-intervention. For instance, in August 1684 a Dutch squadron of four ships arrived at Baranagar from Batavia, evidently to enforce their demands on the local government; and their sugar and saltpetre boats were allowed to go down without hindrance in November of that year; A little later they had a fresh quarrel with the Mughal government of Bengal and withdrew from their factories; but on war breaking out with the English in 1686, they were again put in possession of Baranagar and their bazar, and made a considerable profit in trade.|| During the rebellion of Subha Singh, when the rebel army occupied Hooghly in 1696, the

* Hedges' Diary, II, 240.

† Hedges' Diary, I, 124, 130, 161; cf. 154.

‡ Hedges' Diary, I, 117, 121, 164, II, 117; Thomas Bowrey, pp. 161-63.

§ Hedges' Diary, I, 123, 164.

|| Letter of Job Charnock and the Council to the Court of Directors, dated 24th November 1686, para. 14, Hedges' Diary, II, 56.

Dutch drove them out of the town by firing broadsides from two of their ships.* On the death of Shah Alam in 1711, the Dutch sent their treasure and womenfolk from Cossimbazar to Hooghly, which they fortified as far as possible, keeping back one of their armed ships for its defence.† In 1712, they tried to mediate between Zia-ud-din Khan, the late *Faujdar* of Hooghly, and his successor who had been appointed by Murshid Kuli Khan, but without success.‡ In 1712 the Emperor granted a fresh *pharmān* to the Dutch East India Company, renewing and confirming the previous grants, charging a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent only on the Dutch goods, and ordering that their vessels or authorized servants, provided with passes from the Director in Bengal, should not be molested.§

In the time of Siraj-ud-daula the Dutch appear to have been the most favoured European nation, their chief having had, for at least 20 years, the right of precedence at the Nawāb's *darbār* and also the right to buoy the Hooghly, which, they claimed, "argues a kind of mastery over the river and a superiority of interests in matters relating to trade".|| When he marched on Calcutta in 1756, they helped neither the Nawāb nor the English. Indeed, they were not in a position to do so, for in January 1757 the Council reported that they would not be "able to offer any resistance worth mentioning, for our palisades, that have to serve as a kind of rampart, are as little proof against a cannonade as the canvas of a tent, and our entire military force consists of 78 men, about one-third of whom are in the hospital, whilst all our native servants have run away from fear of the English, so that if matters came to such a pass, we should have to man and aim the guns ourselves".¶

They gave shelter, however, to the English both at Fulta and Chinsura, and when Siraj-ud-daula left Calcutta, were called on to pay a fine of 20 lakhs. Rather than submit to this exorbitant demand, they threatened to leave the country and were eventually let off with the payment of 4½ lakhs.** They subsequently asked for a refund, but the Nawāb "had the audacity to threaten to bastonade us with bamboos (the greatest insult that can be offered to anyone here) if we do not keep quiet; an affront that we should be able to pay 'out for,

* Stewart's *History*, p. 208. Stewart (p. 207) incorrectly ascribes the fortification of Chinsura to this year.

† Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, II, 44, 46.

‡ Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, II, 71.

§ Stavrianus, III, 98-100.

|| Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. II, pp. 257, 259.

¶ Ditto Vol. I, xxvi.

** Ditto Vol. I, pp. viii, clv.

if we could put an army of from 14 to 15,000 men in the field as the English have done, who have now made him so tame that the mere sight of an English flag is sufficient to drive him out of his mind with fear.”*

In 1759 the Dutch abandoned their peaceful rôle. They were anxious to share in the wealth acquired by the English in Bengal, and their intrigues were readily supported by the new Nawâb Jâfar Khân, who, alarmed by the growing power of the English, wished to counterbalance it by that of the Dutch. In August 1759 a Dutch vessel arrived with a number of European and Dutch troops, but the Nawâb, apparently taken by surprise, failed to give them support, and Clive acted promptly, seizing and searching one of their boats. They then withdrew after an exchange of formal remonstrances and formal replies with the Council at Chinsura.

A more serious danger soon threatened. In October 1759 seven Dutch vessels arrived full of troops. The Nawâb had several conferences with the Dutch officials, after which he wrote to Clive that he had granted them certain trade concessions and that they had promised to send away the ships and troops as soon as the weather permitted. News soon came, however, that the Dutch were busily enlisting soldiers and that their fleet was moving up the Hooghly. The situation was critical. The force on board the fleet consisted of 700 European infantry and 800 Malays, while at Chinsura there was a garrison of 150 Europeans, including artillery, and a considerable body of sepoys. “To allow the Dutch troops to land and form a junction with the garrison at Chinsura, was to admit the establishment of a rival and superior force in the province, which, coupled with the conduct of the Nawâb, was to submit to the certain ruin of the English influence and power in Bengal—to prevent this, which could only be done by force, was to commence hostilities with a nation, with which the mother country was at peace.”†

Clive resolved on a bold course. He ordered up three Indian-men and a snow, the *Leopard*, then in the river, to protect Calcutta, and reinforced the garrison at Tanna Fort and Charnock’s Battery. * At this time an additional force under Colonel Forde and Captain Knox opportunely arrived from Masulipatam. The former, though he had been dismissed by the Company, was placed in command of the garrison, and the latter of Tanna Fort and Charnock’s Battery. The Dutch sent a remonstrance to Calcutta, recapitulating their grievances, and threatening ven-

* Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. II, p. 315.

† Bruce, *Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army*, p. 266.

gence, if the English searched their vessels, or hindered their ships or troops coming up the river. Clive replied that there was no desire to injure the Dutch trade or privileges, or to insult their colours, but it was impossible to allow their vessels or troops to pass under existing treaties with the Nawâb. He, therefore, referred them to the Mughal authorities, offering his services as a mediator.

His coolness and audacity enraged the Dutch. They seized seven small trading vessels, and landing at Falta and Raipur, attacked and burnt the English factories, and captured the snow *Leopard*. On 20th November Colonel Forde seized the Dutch factory at Baranagar and crossed the Hooghly, with four field-pieces, to Chandernagore, in order to keep the garrison at Chinsura in check and intercept any Dutch troops which might march there. On the 23rd, the Dutch troops were landed below Sankrail, while their vessels dropped down to McLancholy (Manikhâli) Point. Here, under Clive's orders, Commodore Watson demanded a full apology, restitution of the English property, and withdrawal from the river. The demand was refused, upon which the Commodore attacked them on the 24th November, took all their ships except that of the second in command, who gallantly cut his way through to Kalpi, but was captured there by two British vessels.

On the same day, at Chandernagore, Colonel Forde repulsed a sally of the garrison of Chinsura and drove them back in rout to the town. In the afternoon he was joined by a detachment under Captain Knox, and in the evening he heard that the Dutch force was marching up from the south. Forde at once wrote off to Clive for an official order authorizing him to fight the Dutch, against whom war had not been declared. Clive received it at night whilst playing cards. Without leaving the table, he wrote on the back of the note in pencil, "Dear Forde, fight them immediately. I will send you the order of Council to-morrow."

As soon as he received this, Colonel Forde marched to the plain of Bedarrah, which commanded the direct road to Chinsura and gave his artillery and cavalry full scope. The action was short, bloody and decisive. In half-an-hour the enemy were completely defeated and put to flight, leaving 120 Europeans and 200 Malays dead, 150 Europeans and as many Malays wounded, while Colonel Rousset and 14 other officers, 350 Europeans and 200 Malays were made prisoners. The cavalry completed the rout, and only fourteen of the enemy escaped to Chinsura. The loss of the English was trifling. The Dutch ascribed their defeat to the fatigue of a long march, want of artillery, and the disorder caused in passing a *nullah* in front of the British position.*

* Broome, *Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army*, pp. 262-71. Gross, *Voyage to the East Indies*, II. 276.

After this victory Forde invested Chinsura, and the Dutch sued for peace, being further alarmed by the arrival of the ferocious Mirân, the Nawâb's son, with six thousand horse. A convention was then signed at Ghiretti, by which the Dutch engaged to pay an indemnity and the English agreed to restore their ships, stores and prisoners, with the exception of such as desired to enter their service. An agreement was next concluded between the Dutch and the Nawâb, by which the former promised to send away all their forces except 125 Europeans, to restore their fortifications to their former condition, and never to allow more than one European ship at a time to come up the river beyond Kalpi, Faltâ or Mayapur without the express sanction of the Nawâb. Thus ended the dream of a Dutch empire in India.

* They had at that time territorial property at Parânagar and Chinsura, besides factories at Kalkapur (near Cossimbazar), Patna, Dacca and Balasore.* The Government consisted of a Director and seven Members, who were subordinate to the administration at Batavia, where all vacancies were filled up, the Council of Hooghly only making *ad interim* appointments. Orders and letters were, however, received at Chinsura direct from Holland, where advices were despatched annually. The Director and members were allowed a certain percentage on the sale of imports and opium; besides which they had special opportunities of enriching themselves by investing the large sums lying in their hands.† The goods imported from Batavia were spices and bars of Japan copper; the imports from Holland were cutlery, woollen cloth, silver and other European goods. The exports to Holland were piece-goods, raw silk and saltpetre, and to Java piece-goods, opium and saltpetre, the greater part of the last being re-exported to Holland. Large profits were made on the opium sold in Java, and also on the bullion silver used for coining rupees in Bengal.‡

Their trade naturally enough declined with the loss of their power, but its decline was accelerated by malversation, as is clear from a letter written by the superior authorities at Batavia:—"For a series of years a succession of Directors in Bengal have been guilty of the greatest enormities and the foulest dishonesty; they have looked upon the Company's effects confided to them as a booty thrown open to their depredations; they have most shamefully and arbitrarily falsified the invoice prices; they have violated,

* Gross, "Voyage to the East Indies," Vol. I., Bk. 3, Ch. VI., p. 512.

† Ditto ditto Vol. I., Ch. V., p. 502, *et seq.*; Vol. III., Appendix pp. 503—4.

‡ Ditto ditto Vol. I., Ch. VII., pp. 524—5; cf. p. 555.

in the most disgraceful manner, all our orders and regulations with regard to the purchase of goods, without paying the least attention to their oaths and duty.” Captain (afterwards Admiral) Stavorius, who came to Chinsura from Batavia in 1769, confirms this impression of vanishing trade and gives an interesting account of the Dutch settlement. The principal houses were one-storeyed and made of brick. Glass windows were unknown, frames of twisted cane taking their place. There was a public garden, but it had neither a bush nor a blade of grass. The Director alone was allowed to ride in a *palki*. A little way on the road to Chandernagore was a building erected as a freemasons’ lodge, called Concordia. The walls of the fort (Fort Gustavus) were in such a ruinous condition, that it would have been dangerous to fire the cannon mounted on them. The weakness of the defences and the poverty of the place were realized in October 1769 while Stavorius was in Bengal. The Director having failed to pay custom duties for some time, the *Faujdar* of Hooghly sent an agent to collect them. The agent was flogged, and the *Faujdar* then invested Chinsura with 10,000 or 12,000 men. After 13 days the siege was raised on the intervention of the British, but in this short time many had died of starvation.

In 1781, on the outbreak of war with Holland, Chinsura was taken by the British. The Director at that time was Johanne Matthias Ross, a warm friend of Warren Hastings and his wife, who paid him several visits at Chinsura. It was carefully arranged, to save his *amour propre*, that a large force should march on the place and demand its surrender, but by some mistake only a subaltern and 14 men were sent. Offended at this want of courtesy, Ross defied the detachment and refused to surrender to anything less than a regiment of sepoys, which was then sent from Chandernagore. Chinsura was restored to the Dutch in 1783, but was again taken from them in 1795, and administered first by a special Commissioner and then by the Judge-Magistrate of Hooghly. It was again handed back in 1817, but the tenure of the Dutch was not of long duration, for it was made over to the British with the other Dutch settlements in Bengal by a treaty concluded in 1824. The British entered into possession in May 1825, when the Director Overbeck and eight minor officials were granted a pension.

From the account given by Mrs Fenton, who visited the place in January, 1827, it is clear that by this time the Dutch of Chinsura had fallen on evil days. The English quarters were extremely cheerful and neat, but “the part that may be called Dutch exhibits pictures of ruin and melancholy beyond anything you can imagine.

You are inclined to think that very many years must have passed away since these dreary habitations were the cheerful abode of man." The space between the houses was so very narrow that two persons only could walk together; and Mrs. Fenton was glad to leave 'this city of silence and decay'. Nor was the appearance of the native town much better "The character of everything is gloomy, gloomy without the imposing effect produced by the mighty relics of art, or the sublime changes of nature. We frequently pass the dwellings of rich natives, large ruinous looking houses, the window frames half decayed, the walls black with damp, no pretty garden or clump of trees and shrubs, but a formal range of mango or tamarind trees; nothing to excite the imagination."

The following is a list of the Dutch Directors (with the years, during which they held office), so far as they have been traced:— Mathews Van der Broucke (1658-64), Martinus Huyssman (1684), W de Rov (1706), Antonio Huysman (1712), Mons Vuist (1724), Patras (1726-27), Sichterman (1744), Huygens (1749), Lous Taillefert (1754), Adrian Bisdome (1754-59), George Louis Vernet (1764-70), Ross (1780), P. Brueys (1783). Titsinh (1789), J. A. Van Braam (1817), and D Overbeck (1818-25).^{*} Van der Broucke caused the Hooghly river to be carefully surveyed, and under his order he first regular pilot chart was prepared. Vernet, a Frenchman, was second-in command at Kalkapur when Calcutta was taken by the English and showed great kindness to the English fugitives: Warren Hastings was one of the latter, and Vernet, like Ross, was a warm friend of his.

The first Englishman to visit Bengal was Ralph, Fitch, a ^{THE} pioneer merchant of London, who came to Hooghly among other ^{ENGLISH} places about 1588, and on his return "thrilled London in 1591 with the magnificent possibilities of Eastern commerce". In December 1600 the East India Company was incorporated by royal charter under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies". From the first the Company's servants were desirous of obtaining trading concessions in Bengal, and tried to secure them through the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe; but he was not successful, for he reported in December 1617:—"A firman for Bengal cannot be had while the Prince hath Suratt."[†] Another attempt to open up trade with Bengal was made in 1620, two agents, named Hughes and

^{*} Yale, Hedges' Diary, III, 202-3, I, 160; Wilson, Early Annals, I, 276, II, 75, 77; Crawford, Brief History of Hooghly District, p. 40; Hill, Bengal in 1756-57, I, 408, 15, 18, &c.; Stavorinus, I, 149, 154, 155; Toynbee's Sketch pp. 119-12.

[†] Hedges' Diary, III, 162.

Parker, being sent from the factory at Surat to Patna to purchase cloths and establish a branch factory there. The mission was a failure, for the expense of transporting goods from Patna to Agra, and thence to Surat, was great; and in March 1621 Patna was ravaged by a terrible fire, in which their house and merchandise were destroyed.* A fresh attempt was made in 1632, when Peter Mundy was sent from Agra. He stayed at Patna from 17th September to 16th November, but this mission also proved a failure.† In March 1633 the Agent at Masulipatam sent eight Englishmen under Ralph Cartwright to open up trade on the coast. They landed at Harishpur in Orissa, went up to Cuttack, and secured from the Governor a license authorizing free trade in Orissa. Armed with this authority, they established a factory at Harihaipur in Cuttack, and on 16th June Cartwright proceeded to Palasore, where another factory was set up.‡ Owing, however, to the ignorance of the factors, trade languished; and the mortality among the Europeans in Orissa was so great, that about 1642 the factory at Harihaipur was abandoned.§

About this time the English appear to have had ideas of settling at Hooghly, for in 1633 Poule writes from Balasore that, owing to the Portuguese having been restored to favour with the Emperor and re-entered Hooghly, "our expectation of Hugly is frustrayt."|| When eventually it was decided to establish a factory inland up the Ganges, Captain John Brookhaven was despatched in 1650 with the ship *Lyoness* and several assistants and given discretion "for the buying and bringing away of goods or settling a factory at Hooghly." The Captain, after arriving at Balasore, despatched James Bridgeman with three assistants to make a settlement at Hooghly, and gave them long instructions under date 14th December 1650.¶ They were to attempt the refining of saltpetre and make experiments in washing silk at Hooghly, while in the purchase of sugar they were to model their methods on those of the Dutch. Having settled their business at Hooghly, they were to go on to Rajmahal and endeavour to secure a *pharmācī* or license for free trade in Bengal through 'Mr. Gabriel Boughton, Chirurgeon to the Prince.' In this humble fashion did the English set about establishing a settlement in Bengal.

* W. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1618-1621* (1908).

† Wilson, *Early Annals*, I, 378, note 1.

‡ Bruton's *A Voyage to Bengallia*, I, c. Hedges' Diary, III, 176-7; Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, I, 2-16.

§ Hedges' Diary, III, 181-2; Wilson, I, 17-21.

¶ C. E. Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 18.

|| Hedges' Diary, III, 184-57.

(In 1657, the Hooghly factory became the head agency in Bengal, with subordinate agencies at Balasore, Cossimbazar and Patna, George Gawton being the first Chief Agent.* He was succeeded next year by Jonathan Trevisa, who rebelled at the exactions of the Mughal Governor of Hooghly. The latter had since 1658 muled the British of Rs 3,000 a year in lieu of custom duties, and in 1661 the exasperated Agent seized a native vessel. The Viceroy, Mir Jumla, ordered immediate reparation and threatened to seize the factory and expel the English. Trevisa, alarmed at the results of his precipitate action, wrote for orders to Madras, whereupon he was directed to apologize at once and restore the boat. This was done; but the annual payment of Rs 3,000 had still to be made. Next year (1662) Trevisa further distinguished himself by forbidding an English vessel to come up the river Hooghly, on the ground of its dangers, though the Court desired that their ships should sail up and Dutch vessels of 600 tons did so regularly. In the same year the factory was made subordinate to Madras, the title of the Agent being changed to 'Chief of the Factories in the Bay,' and Trevisa was superseded by William Blake, who was directed to call all the servants of the Company "to account for all actions which hath passed since their being in the Bay." During his tenure of office, in 1668, the English began to undertake the pilotage of the river and thus inaugurated the Bengal Pilot Service.

In 1676, when Streynsham Master, the President of Madras, came to Bengal on a tour of inspection, the question was again debated whether Hooghly or Balasore was the most suitable place for the residence of the Chief; and the Council decided in favour of Hooghly, as 'the key of Bengal'.† In 1679, Master again visited Bengal and reorganized the factories. Under the regulations laid down by him the trade in Bengal was placed under the general control of the Chief and Council at Hooghly. The Council consisted of four members, and there were also allowed for Hooghly a minister, surgeon, a secretary and a steward. The following Agents and Chiefs of Hooghly can be traced for this period:—Captain John Brookhaven (1650), James Bridgeman (1651—53), Paul Walgrave or Waldegrave (1653), George Gawton (1658), Jonathan Trevisa (1658—63), William Blake (1663—69), Shem Bridges (1669—70), Walter Clavell (1670—77), and Mathias Vincent (1677—82).

The first factory of the English in Hooghly adjoined that of the Dutch, and narrowly escaped destruction by floods at the time

* Bruce, *Annals of the East India Co.*, Vol. I, p. 532.

† Hedges' *Diary*, II. 236.

when the old Dutch factory was swept away. One result of these floods was that the river in front of the factory was scoured out to a depth of 16 fathoms, forming what was called the Hooghly Hole*. Fearing that the bank would be undermined, the English about 1665, built a new factory, a quarter of a mile higher up*. converting the old factory into a general warehouse, while the new factory was the residence of the Chief and the factors. The pay of the Agent was £100 in 1658, but was raised in 1682 to £200 plus a gratuity of £100 per annum. The factors received pay of £20 to £40, and writers £10 a year†. All officers had free quarters, and, if single, free boarding at a public table; or, if married, were allowed diet money. The higher officers were allowed wages for a certain number of servants, besides the use of the general servants of the factory‡. The officers carried on private trade, making use not only of their own money, but also of the sums of the Company lying in their hands. In this way many of them amassed fortunes, often in partnership with the merchants called 'interlopers,' who defied the Company's claim to a monopoly, thus committing what the Directors called "the treacherous and unpardonable sin of compliance with interlopers§."

In 1681 the factories in Bengal were again made independent of Madras, and William Hedges was appointed 'Agent and Governor of the factories in the Bay of Bengal' with orders to seize and send home Vincent the then Chief of Hooghly, who had been guilty of 'odious infidelity' in countenancing interlopers. Thomas Pitt, the grandfather of the Earl of Chatham, who was the chief interloper, set out from England nearly a month later and arrived in Bengal (in July 1682) before Hedges. He sailed up to Hooghly, took up his quarters at Chinsura, and, with the assistance of the Dutch and Bengali merchants, began to build warehouses and start a new trade. He negotiated with the native governor of Hooghly and, under the title of the New English Company, obtained an order giving him commercial privileges and liberty to build a factory||. Hedges succeeded in getting an order for his arrest, but it was never executed. The interlopers readily agreed to pay the Mughal his dues, and no arguments or bribes availed against them¶. They were

* Thomas Bowrey pp. 170-7.

† Hedges' Diary, II, 10-11, 111, 189.

‡ Regulations of S. Master; *Early Annals*, I, 389.

§ Hedges' Diary, II, 11-12.

|| Hedges' Diary, II, 11.

¶ Hedges' Diary, I, 55, 180.

also on the best of terms with the Company's factors, and Hedges was powerless to touch them.

Hedges further found that the trade at Hooghly was almost at a standstill owing to the exactions of the customs officers. He resolved to appeal to the Nawâb at Dacca, but his boats were seized and had to make a stealthy escape from Hooghly by night. At Dacca he obtained a number of promises but little more, for after his return to Hooghly the Company's boats were still stopped and their goods seized, while Hedges' bribes failed to secure exemption from custom dues. After having embroiled himself with the Company's servants generally and dissatisfied the Directors completely, Hedges was dismissed in 1683, and Beard was appointed Agent Beard, a feeble old man, who was unable to deal with the disputes between the English and the local officials, died at Hooghly in 1685, and was succeeded by Job Charnock, then Chief of the Factory at Cossimbazar and second member of the Council.

The situation which Charnock had to face was critical. The interlopers were mischievously active. They were secretly helped by the Company's factors, and they were permitted to buy and sell openly, on payment of custom duties to the Nawâb's officials. The quarrel between the Company and the subordinates of the Nawâb had ended in the Company's boats being stopped, the sale of its silver prohibited, and its trade interfered with. Charnock himself had great difficulty in making his way to Hooghly from Cossimbazar. He had been directed to pay Ra. 43 000 in settlement of a claim made by some native merchants and the factory was invested by troops to prevent his escape. It was not till April 1686 that he got through the cordon and reached Hooghly*.

When Charnock took over charge he found the Court of Directors resolved on war. They wrote :—" That, since those Governors have by that unfortunate Accident, and audacity of the Interlopers, got the knack of trampling upon us, and extorting what they please of our estate from us, by the besieging of our factories and stopping of our boats upon the Ganges. They will never forsooth doeing soe till we have made them as sensible of our power as we have of our truth and justice " Accordingly, with the sanction of the King James II, the Company despatched a squadron of six ships and three frigates with six companies on board. Nicholson, who was in command, was instructed to take on board the Company's officers in Bengal, to send

* Hedges' Diary, II, 50, 58. According to Orme, (II, 12), he had been scourged by the Nawâb.

an ultimatum to the Nawâb, and to seize all the Mughal vessels he could. If no agreement could be made with the Nawab, the bulk of the force should take and fortify Chittagong, of which Job Charnock was to be Governor*.

The *Rochester* and one frigate arrived first with a force of 108 soldiers; while a small reinforcement was received from Madras, which, with the garrison at Hooghly, brought the number of the English troops to about 400 men. The arrival of reinforcements alarmed the Nawâb, who ordered 300 horse and 3,000 or 4,000 foot to protect the town. The *Faujdâr*, Abdul Ghani, prohibited the supply of provisions to the English and erected a battery of 11 guns to command the English shipping in the Hooghly Holet.

A rupture soon ensued. On 28th October three English soldiers, who had gone into the bazar to buy victuals, were seized, beaten and carried off to the *Faujdâr*. Captain Leslie was immediately ordered out of the factory with a company of soldiers to bring them in, dead or alive. On his way, he was set upon by a body of horse and foot, which he routed. The enemy next fired a number of houses near the English factory, and the old factory was also burnt down. The battery, having opened fire on the shipping, a detachment was sent under Captain Richardson to attack it, while the rest of the soldiers were ordered up from Chandernagore. The latter took the battery by assault, and, after spiking and dismounting the guns, carried the fight into the town, burning as they went and driving all before them. In the evening the English ketches and sloops came up and "kept firing and battering the town most part of that night and next day, and making frequent sallies on shore, burning and plundering". The *Faujdâr*, through the Dutch, now applied for an armistice. To this the English readily agreed, for they could not have maintained the place against the large force which was hourly expected; and they had no less than 12,000 or 14,000 bags of saltpetre which they were anxious to ship. Charnock, realizing that his position was untenable, entered into some infructuous negotiations with the Nawab, and determined to retire to Hijili, where the zamindâr, who was at war with the Mughals, invited the English to build factories and promised assistance. At last, on the 20th December 1686, the English left Hooghly with all their goods, and dropped down the river to Sutanuti.

* Hedges' Diary, II, 51, 52.

† Charnock and his Council's letter to the Sarat Governor, dated 24th November 1686, Hedges' Diary, II, 54.

In January 1687 Charnock again entered into negotiations with the Nawâb, but the latter refused his demands and sent down a Bakshi, named Abdul Samad, to Hooghly with two thousand horse. Hostilities were now resumed; but the rest of the war took place outside this district and need be only briefly noticed. After sacking and burning Balasore, the English fortified themselves in the island of Hijili, but a truce was concluded in June. The English then handed over the fort, and made their way to Uluberia, thence to Little Tanna, and eventually in September 1687 arrived at Sutanuti*, where Charnock and his Council remained for more than a year. In the meantime, the London Directors sent out Captain Heath with orders to take off all the English and capture Chittagong. He arrived at Calcutta in September 1688, took away Charnock and his companions, and on 8th November sacked Balasore. He arrived at Chittagong in January 1688, but left it without doing anything and returned to Madras, where Charnock and his assistants stayed for sixteen months. Finally, the courtesy of the new Nawâb, Ibrahim Khân, induced the Madras authorities to send Charnock and his Council back to Bengal. They arrived at Sutanuti on 24th August 1690. Henry Stanley and Thomas Mackrith were sent to Hooghly, whence the former sent to Charnock such small necessaries as a pair of water jars (*ghars*), three large dishes, and a dozen plates. They were recalled to Calcutta shortly afterwards on the declaration of war with the French. Charnock declined to go back to Hooghly or to a place two miles below it, which was offered by the Musalmân Government, but finally settled at Calcutta, where he died in 1693.†

The attempt of the Company to keep their monopoly of the East Indian trade intact, and their bitter persecution of the free traders or "interlopers," had by this time raised up a number of enemies in England. A new Company was formed, duly constituted under the name of "The English Company trading to the East Indies". Sir Edward Littleton was appointed its President and Agent on the Bay, and with his Council and factors made his head-quarters at Hooghly in 1699.‡ The rival Companies continued their quarrels for several years; but the new Company was generally unfortunate both in its men and

* Charnock and Ellis' letter to the Surat Governor, dated 10th September 1687, Hedges' *Diary* II, 64-69, cf. pp. 62-64.

† Hedges' *Diary*, II, 77-88, 288; Wilson, *Early Annals*, I, p. 124, note 1.

‡ Hedges' *Diary*, II, 206 ff. At Hooghly, Sir Edward occupied the house of Thomas Pitt, for the rent of which the latter, then President of the Fort St. George on behalf of the Old Company sent a reminder in November 1703 (*Diary* III, 68; cf. III, 63).

in its trade. Several assistants died at Hooghly ; and a number of military guards died or deserted. Littleton neglected his duties and was found to have misappropriated part of the Company's money. The two Companies were amalgamated in April 1702, when orders were sent to the President to withdraw the out-factories, quit Hooghly and retire to Calcutta.* This was done some time after 4th July 1704, on which date a consultation of the Council at Hooghly is recorded † In the Rotaſion Government now set up, the Council was presided over in alternate weeks by Mr. Halsey of the old Company and Mr. Hedges of the new Company, the office of President having been suspended for one year.

Though the English had now made Calcutta their headquarters, they kept up their connection with Hooghly so long as it continued to be the seat of the *Faujdār*. In 1700 we find that the *Faujdār* threatened to send a *Kāzī* to Calcutta to administer justice among the natives; but a timely bribe to the Nazim, Prince Azim-us-Shāh, produced an order forbidding this step.‡ Next, in March 1702, the *Faujdār*, in pursuance of the Emperor's proclamation that redress was to be made for the piracies committed by the Europeans, ordered the seizure of all the effects of the old Company at Calcutta, but was deterred from executing his order by the vigorous measures of defence taken by the President, Beard,§ who was determined not "to be always giving way to every little rascal". Later in the same year the *Faujdār*, not satisfied with a present of Rs. 5,000, demanded a larger sum as his price for allowing the free transit of the Company's goods. Beard, however, retaliated by stopping the Mughal ships bound for Surat and Persia, and the *Faujda* then gave way.|| In 1708 a newly appointed Governor, a 'hot-headed *phonsdai*', gave more trouble, stopping the English trade and imprisoning their servants at Hooghly<¶>; and in 1713 a force of 60 soldiers had to be sent up to Hooghly to protest against another stoppage of trade and threaten reprisals.** To prevent such interruptions to their commerce, the Council from time to time paid money and gave presents to the Hooghly *Faujdār* and his subordinates; and a *wakil* or agent was kept there as their intermediary †† The factory

* Bruce, *Annals*, III, 514-5; Hedges' *Diary* II, 208-9.

† *Diary*, II, 211.

‡ Stewart, *History*, p. 218.

§ Hedges' *Diary* II, 106-7.

|| Wilson, *Early Annals*, I, 161.

¶ *Id.* I, I, 179.

** *Id.* II, xii.

†† *Id.* II, 46.

house, however, was left in charge of only two or three peons and a native gardener; and in December 1712, was described as being partly in ruins, and the garden as containing nothing but weeds.*

During the last days of Muhammadaⁿ rule Hooghly again figured prominently. When Siraj-ud-daulā was marching against Calcutta in 1756, the English sent a party of 15 men up to Sukh-sāgar to reconnoitre. This gave rise to a rumour that the English were on their way to attack Hooghly, and the Nawāb hurriedly sent down 2,000 horse to hold the town † Clive and Watson retook Calcutta on 2nd January 1757; and on the 4th January embarked a force of about 200 grenadiers and 300 sepoys on board the *Bridgewater*, the *Kingfisher* sloop and the *Thunder* bomb ketch, which were sent, with a flotilla of boats and sloops, to surprise Hooghly town. While going up the river, the *bridgewater* grounded, and owing to the delay thus caused the people of Hooghly had time to carry away most of their effects. At length, with the help of a Dutch pilot from Baranagar, the vessels reached Hooghly on the 9th January and began to bombard the town. Their fire made a small breach in the south-east bastion, after which the sailors, followed by the sepoys and grenadiers, stormed the fort, the garrison of 2,000 men flying before them.

The fort having been captured, the English proceeded to secure possession of the neighbourhood. On the 12th January a small force sallied out to Bandel, which they found full of provisions said to be intended for the Nawāb's army. A force of 5,000 men surrounded the detachment, but after firing Bandel, it fought its way back without loss. On the 15th, after having disabled the enemy's guns, demolished the walls and burnt the houses both within and without the fort, the English proceeded up the river and burnt down the granaries above Bandel (Shahganj). On the 17th the European troops were sent down to Calcutta; while the sailors and sepoys were employed in plundering the country. The work of destruction was continued on the 19th; on the 20th some more vessels were taken at Chinsura; and at length on the 22nd the fleet left for Calcutta. In the meantime, the Nawāb had been moving down with his army, a spy reporting his arrival at Nayāsarai on the 16th January. On the 1st February, he wrote a letter to Clive saying that he had arrived at Hooghly, and on the 9th he signed a treaty agreeing not to molest the Company in the enjoyment of their privileges, to permit the free transit of their goods, to restore the factories

* Early Annals II, 385-6.

† Hill, Bengal in 1756-57, I, 196.

and plundered property, and to permit the Company to establish a mint and fortify Calcutta.

The next important event in the history of the English was the capture of Chandernagore on 23rd March 1757. This will be described later, and here it will suffice to say that Nanda Kumār, who was then acting as Governor of Hooghly, had been ordered to move to the assistance of the French, but had apparently been bribed and did nothing. Nanda Kumār was not confirmed, but displaced by Sheikh Amirulla, to whom Clive wrote in June 1757, saying that he was marching to Murshidābād and would destroy the town, if the *Faujdar* interfered with his march, or opposed the passage of boats or supplies. The *Faujdar* meekly yielded, and on the 13th June the English army went past Chinsura, both by river and land, on their eventful march to the battle of Plassey.

In 1759 war broke out between the Dutch and English. Mir Jafar, the new Nawāb, intrigued with the Dutch, who had grown jealous of the increasing power of the British Company. This brought on the last battle between Europeans in West Bengal, which took place on the Hooghly river at Melancholy Point and on land at Bedarrah, the Dutch, as already related, being signally defeated. Finally, by the treaty signed by Mir Kāsim Ali in September 1759, the Hooghly district was placed under the East India Company.

THE
DANES.

THE Danish East India Company was formed in 1612, and their first settlement was at Tranquebar in the Tanjore district. Their first venture, like the second Portuguese venture in the Bay of Bengal, ended in the wreck of their vessel. Its captain, Crape, made his way from the Coromandel Coast to the court of the King of Tanjore, from whom he obtained a grant of land. Here a fort, the 'Dansborg,' was built in 1620, but four years later it became the property of the King of Denmark, to whom the Company owed money.* Before 1633 the Danes must have made their way further up the Bay, for a passage in Bruton's *Journal* of that year refers to the passes granted by the Danes, Dutch and English to vessels trading on the coast of Orissa. Their first factory in Bengal was established at Balasore, some time after 1636, according to Walter Clavell.† It remained their chief factory till 1643 or 1644, when they became involved in a quarrel with the Governor of Balasore, Malik Beg, who, it is said, poisoned the Danes, seized their goods, and demolished

* *District Gazetteer of Tanjore* (1906), p. 233.

† W. Bruton's *Voyage to Bengala*, 1683, i. c. Wilson's *Early Danes*, I, p. 2.

‡ Hedges' *Diary*, II, p. 240.

their factory. The Danes declared war, but, having neither a fleet nor an army, could do little, the sum total of their accomplishments in 32 years being the capture of 30 Moorish vessels. In 1674 the arrival of a ship of 16 guns and one sloop enabled them to seize five vessels in the Balasore Roads. Thereupon the Governor, Malik Kásim, promised to give them the same trading privileges as the English, to build a factory for them at Balasore and to pay them Rs 5,000 to Rs 6,000 for their expenses. On receiving this promise the Danes gave up the vessels they had seized; but as soon as their Commodore, with five or six men, went into the town and paid a visit to the Governor, the latter detained them, saying that, unless confirmed by the Nawáb, the agreement could not be carried out. In 1676, Wilk Wygbert, another Commodore, came to Balasore in a ship, went up to Hooghly in a sloop, and thence by budgerow to Dacca. Here, at an outlay of Rs 4,000 to Rs 5,000, he got a *pharmān* from the Nawáb, Shaista Khan, authorising the Danes to trade free of custom dues in Bengal and Orissa. Under this authority a fresh factory was started by the Danes at Balasore in 1676.*

The Danes next set up another factory on the river Hooghly at Gondalpára in the south-east of what is now the French territory of Chandernagore. A trace of this settlement still survives in the name given to a part of Gondalpára, viz., *Dinemārdāngā*, the land of the Danes. It was not in existence in 1676 when Streynham Master came up the Hooghly river, but it must have been started some time before the beginning of the 18th century, when Alexander Hamilton wrote:—"There are several other villages on the river's side on the way to Hooghly, but none remarkable till we come to the Danes' Factory, which stands about four miles below Hooghly. But the poverty of the Danes has made them desert it, after having robbed the Mogul subjects of some of their shipping to keep themselves from starving."† This factory is also mentioned by an "adventurer", who was given letters to "Monsure Attrope, governor of the Danes Factory at Gondulpars," which he visited in 1712.‡

Another factory of the Danes is shown in Valentijn's map (published in 1723), on the east bank of the river opposite the mouth of the river "Bassandheri," i.e., the Káná Dámodar, under the name Deense Logie, i.e., the Danish lodge. This factory is also

* Thomas Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, pp. 181-90. Wygbert was visited at the Balasore factory by Streynham Master on 2nd September and 18th December 1676.

† *A New Account of the East Indies*, II, p. 19.

‡ C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I. p. 325.

mentioned by Hamilton :—" At a little below the mouth of it, (the Ganga, i.e., the Rūpnārāyan), the Danes have a thatcht House, but for what Reasons they kept an house there, I never could learn." * A few years earlier, in 1700, Sir Edward Littleton noticed that the Danish assistants were supplied with wives from Europe, and did not marry natives.†

The Danes abandoned their factories along the Hooghly in 1714, as we learn from an entry in the Diary and Consultations Book of the Council at Fort William. " There having been a difference between the Danes and the Moors Government for some time, on which the Danes have been forced to Leave their Factory, and have seized a Large Suratt Ship Laden with Sugar, Silk and other goods bound for Suatt, and belonging to Merchants there. They are now making the best of their way down the River, to wait for what other Ships shall go out belonging to the Moors and then design for Trincombar "‡ The Mughal Governor of Hooghly having asked the English to mediate, some letters were written by William Hedges and his Council to Mr. Attrup, " Chief for Affairs of the Royall Company of Denmark." Jafai Khan, the Diwān, promised to make their aggressors give the Danes full satisfaction for all the injuries done them and to reimburse them for all the charges they incurred in their defence, and further promised that if they would remain two or three months in the river, he would secure them a royal *phāmān*. Attrup refused the overtures, and a subsequent letter from Madras shows that " the Danes' prize taken from the Moors " arrived there in January 1715 and went on to Tranquebar."§

(In 1755 the Danes re-established themselves, having secured from Ali Vardi Khān, at a considerable cost, the grant of a settlement at Serampore. For this grant apparently they were mainly indebted to the good offices of Monsieur Law, the Chief of the French factory at Cossimbazar, who wrote in his Memoirs :— " The previous year (1755) had brought him (Siraj-ud-daulā) in a good deal of money owing to the business of establishing the Danes in Bengal. In fact, it was only by means of his order that I managed to conclude this affair, and the Nawāb Ali Verdi Khān let him have all the profit." Renault, the Governor of Chanderāgore, also claimed credit for their re-establishment. Whoever was entitled to the credit,

* *A New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. II, p. 5.

† *Hedges' Diary*, II. p. 209.

‡ C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 139.

§ C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. II, pp. 199-202.

the Danes and French had for some time been on very good terms, for two years before this the Danes had been allowed to load and unload cargoes at Chandernagore, where they were seized, and represented by an agent named Soetman.* Soetman was the first Governor of the new settlement and proceeded to take possession on 7th October 1755, but the whole day was passed in disputes with the native officials. Next day the Danish flag was hoisted, and the settlement was loyally named Frederiks nagore after the King of Denmark, Frederick V.

Though the Danes had been allowed to settle at Serampore and to trade in Bengal, they were not permitted to fortify their settlement or keep up a garrison.† In spite of this, Siraj-ud-daula, when advancing on Calcutta in 1756, called on them, as well as the French and Dutch, to get their 'vessels of force' ready and attack the English from the river, while he delivered his assault by land. All three nations excused themselves on one pretext or another, the Danish Governor replying that he had neither horse, foot or guns, but was living in a miserable mud hut with only two or three servants.‡ The plea was evidently not accepted, for the Nawab on his return from the capture of Calcutta, levied from the Danes a fine of Rs 25,000, a large sum considering that they had then very little trade in Bengal, only one ship, the *King of Denmark*, having come from Tranquebar all that year §. When Chandernagore was taken by the English on 23rd March 1757, some of the French found refuge at Serampore with the Danes,|| who evidently had not forgotten the help given them two years before. The English Government at Calcutta took umbrage at this. To mark their resentment, the Council stopped the passage of the *King of Denmark* in January 1759, and refused the Danes the loan of four cannon and some ammunition next year. There was a more serious quarrel in 1763. Some British sepoys were charged with assaulting some Danish peons and were sentenced to 25 lashes each. The British, thereupon, invested Serampore, but withdrew on receiving an apology.¶

The decline of Danish trade continued for a few years later, as may be gathered from the account given by Stavorinus in October 1769:—‘ Going down (from Chinsua) I landed at Serampore,

* J. C. Marshman, *Notes on the Right Bank of the Hooghly*, Calcutta Review, 1845.

† Bengal in 1756-57, II, 17, 28

‡ Bengal in 1756-57, I, 5

§ Bengal in 1756-57 I, 368, 7, II, 70.

|| Bengal in 1756-57 II, 298, III, 254.

¶ Long's Selection.

where the Danes have a factory ; this is the most inconsiderable European establishment on the Ganges, consisting only, besides the village occupied by the natives, in a few houses inhabited by Europeans. Their trade is of very little importance."* It soon revived. The servants of the East India Company, not being allowed to remit their savings by bills on the Directors, had to make their remittances through foreign factories. Moreover, England was at war with the United States, France, and Holland ; and to escape the enemies' privateers and men-of-war, the English sent their goods home in the neutral vessels of the Danes. "No fewer than twenty-two ships, mostly of three masts, and amounting in the aggregate to more than 10,000 tons, cleared out from the port in the short space of nine months."† These were the golden days of Serampore. Factors who drew pay of only Rs. 260 a month drank champagne at Rs. 80 a dozen, and in a few years returned home with large fortunes! These too were the days in which the town became famous in the Christian world as the headquarters of the Baptist missionaries ; for in 1799 Marshman, Ward and two other missionaries came to Serampore, where they were soon joined by Carey.

In 1801, hostilities having been resumed with Denmark, Serampore was seized by the British, but was restored next year on the conclusion of the Peace of Amiens. The Danish trade after this continued to flourish, as the Bay swarmed with French privateers, and the Calcutta merchants were only too eager to ship their goods in neutral bottoms under the Danish flag. In 1808, however, war with Denmark having been again declared, Lord Minto, the then Governor-General, sent a detachment of British troops to capture the town, while his son, who was in command of the frigate *Modeste*, took the Danish ships lying in the river. Serampore was then administered by the Judge-Magistrate of Hooghly until 1815, when it was restored to the Danes on the conclusion of the Peace of Kiel. Though the Danes recovered the town, they did not regain their trade. A shoal had formed in front of the town and their goods were ousted by British competition. Between 1815 and 1845 only one vessel visited the port, while in 1813-14 the total revenue was only Rs. 13,231.‡

The decadence of Serampore at this time is clearly shown by the account of Bishop Heber, who visited it in December 1823. The settlement, he said, had grievously declined since it

* *Voyages to the East Indies*, I, 121.

† J. C. Marshman, *Notes on the Right Bank of the Hooghly*, *Calcutta Review*, (1845).

‡ *Hamilton's Hindostan* (1830), Vol. 1, page 66.

was taken by the British) and all the more because, when it was restored, the Danish Government had not stipulated for the continuance of a grant of 200 chests of opium yearly, which the East India Company had previously supplied at cost price. The revenue did not meet current expenses, and the Government had been utterly unable to relieve the suffering recently caused by an inundation. Bishop Heber, however, admired, the place—"a handsome place, kept beautifully clean, and looking more like an European town than Calcutta." He also admired the vigour of the administration of the Governor, Colonel Krefting, a fine old veteran who had been in Bengal for over 40 years. "During the late inundation he was called on for more vigorous measures than usual, since a numerous band of 'l'ecoits' or river pirates, trusting to the general confusion and apparently defenceless state of the place, attacked his little kingdom, and began to burn and pillage with all the horrors which attend such inroads in this country. The Colonel took the field at the head of his dozen Sepoys, his silver-sticks, policemen, and sundry volunteers, to the amount of perhaps thirty, killed some of the ruffians, and took several prisoners, whom he hanged next morning." At that time a number of persons appear to have been attracted by the cheapness of living in Serampore, and it was also an asylum for debtors. In 1830 the right to shelter debtors was given up by the Danes, and this concession still further diminished its resources, though the frontier duty (called a double duty), which stifled trade with the interior, was abolished.

Eventually, by a treaty concluded on 22nd February 1845, the King of Denmark transferred Serampore with Tranquebar to the British for 12½ lakhs. The treaty specified that the settlement transferred was the town of Frederiksnagore or Serampore, comprising 60 bighas, and the districts of Serampore, Akna and Pearapore, for which districts an annual sum of Rs. 1,601 was to be paid to the zamindars of Sheoraphuli. It was further stated that it contained the following public property, viz., the Government House, Secretary's house and offices, court-house with jail annexed, the Danish Church, a bazar, two small guard-houses on the river bank, a canal, public roads and bridges.* Ratifications of the treaty were exchanged on 6th October, and the place was made over to the English on 11th October 1845.

The following Danish Governors can be traced:—Soetman (1755-56), Ziegenbalk or Ziegenbalg (1758-59), Demarchez

* Calcutta Review, 1845, page 495-6; Crawford, *Brief History*, page 54; Toyah, Sketch, page 164.

(1763-64), Colonel Bie (1789-1805), Colonel Jacob Krefting (1805-08, 1815-28), J. S. Hohlenberg (1828-33), Colonel Rehling (1836), who was subsequently Governor of Tranquebar and P. Hansen (1836-45). Col. el Crawford gives as the last Governor one Lindeman (1842-45), but the Bengal and Agra Gazetteer of 1841 shows the Hon'ble P. Hansen as Governor, and the latter signed the treaty of 22nd February 1845, which distinctly refers to him as "Peter Hansen, Councillor of State, Governor of His Danish Majesty's Possessions in India, Knight of the Order of Dannebrog." The certificate of exchange was signed by L. Linhard, who was Judge and Magistrate in 1841.

THE FRENCH. According to the English factory records, the first settlement of the French in Bengal was made at Hooghly and was the result of an accident. In a letter to the Court of Directors, dated Balasore, the 28th December 1674, Walter Clavell the English Company's chief representative in the Bay, reported that in the preceding year a ship of the French King's, named the *H'men*, while returning to St. Thomé, was separated from the rest of the squadron sent by the Viceroy M. De la Haye) owing to foul weather. Not being able to make Coromandel, she came to the Balasore Roads, where she was surprised and taken by three Dutch merchantmen bound for Hooghly. They 'had the confidence to bring her up to Hooghly before their one factory,' and several specious pretences were made that the ship should be taken from the Dutch and redelivered to the French, to which purpose the Governor of Balasore persuaded some of the French to complain personally at Dacca. The upshot was that the Dutch were fain to buy the prize of the Moors, and the French were sent away with good words and liberty to build factories and carry on trade in what part of Bengal they would. "In Hugly they made a small house neere the Dutch Factory, from which the Dutch by their application and present to the Moores, have routed them; and they thereupon pretendedly, but really because they can borrow no more money, have lately left Hugly, and are intended for the Coast in an open boate, and taking a long farewell of Bengala, where they are indebted about Rupees 8,000."*

As the sloop *Fleming* left St. Thomé in April 1673, the Frenchmen presumably were brought to Hooghly towards the close of that year, and after allowing for their journey to and from Dacca, they in all probability built their 'small house' at Hooghly about 1674.

* Thomas Bowrey, *Countries, etc.*, 1303, quoting (in p. 69, note 3) *Factory Records*, Hugh, No. 6, p. 23 f.; cf. Delastre, *Relation du Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales*, (1677), p. 185.

It is this house evidently which is alluded to by the English Agent Streynsham Master under date 13th September 1676 :—“...Less than 2 miles short of Hugly we passed by the Dutch Garden, and a little further by a large spot of ground which the French had laid out in a factory, the gate to which was standing, but was now in the possession of the Dutch. Then we came by the Dutch factory.”* From this description it appears that the factory was in the extreme north of the modern Chandernagore, just south of Chinsura. It also appears that the French did not leave Bengal altogether, when they abandoned their settlement, for Master, writing on 23rd September 1676, noted that at Cossimbazar he passed by the spot of ground allotted to the French †

It is not certain when Chandernagore was reoccupied by the French. The common tradition is that permission to erect a factory here was granted to the French in 1688 by a *Naib Mān* of the Emperor Aurangzeb obtained during the rebellion of Subhā Singh in 1696-97 ‡. The Dutch, French and English, it is said, hired soldiers and requested permission to put their factories into a state of defence. The Nawāb Ibrāhīm Khān gave them a general authority to provide for their own safety; and acting on this, they raised walls with bastions round their factories. In this way Fort Gustavus at Chinsura, Fort Orleans at Chandernagore, and Fort William at Calcutta are said to have been built §. In 1701 Chandernagore was placed under the authority of the Governor of Pondicherry. For many years the French trade languished, as may be gathered from the remark made by Alexander Hamilton, in the beginning of the 18th century, that the French had a factory at Chandernagore with a few families living near it, but not much trade for want of money,|| and “a pretty little church to hear mass in, which is the chief business of the French in Bengal” .

In 1731 Joseph Francoix Dupleix was appointed Intendant of Chandernagore, and during the ten years in which he held that office he transformed the place. According to Mr. E. Sterling, Collector of Hooghly—“Chandernagore under his able government became the astonishment and envy of its neighbours. Money

* Hedges' *Diary*, II, 238.

† *Diary of St. Master*, i.c., Thomas Bowrey, *Countries, etc.*, p. 213, note 2.

‡ Mr. E. Sterling, Collector of Hooghly, states in a letter dated 29th July 1849, that this permission was obtained through a Persian, named Madrah. Probably he refers to Marcar, an Armenian merchant, who built a church at Chinsura in 1695, or to his son, who died at Hooghly in 1697.

§ Stewart, *History*, p. 207. Fort Gustavus, however, had walls before 1688.

|| Gross, *A New Account of the East Indies*, I, 312, 316.

poured in from every quarter. New and surprising sources of commercial wealth were opened, and vast designs of wealth emanated from this one man, in whom the most unlimited confidence was placed. His measures enriched individuals, while his policy extended the reputation of his nation. Never perhaps did the glory of the French and their prosperity acquire a more extended field than in this colony on the bank of the Ganges."* So also Malleson writes:—"From the period of its first occupation to the time when Dupleix assumed the Intendantahip, Chandernagore had been regarded as a settlement of very minor importance. Starved by the parent Company in Paris, it had been unable, partly from want of means, and partly also from the want of enterprise on the part of the settlers, to carry on any large commercial operations. Lodges, or commercial posts, dependent upon Chandernagore, had also been established at Cossimbazar, Jougdia, Dacca, Balasore and Patna. But their operations were of small extent. The long stint of money on the part of the Company of the Indies had had, besides, a most pernicious effect upon the several intendants and their subordinates. The stagnation attendant upon poverty had lasted so long, that it had demoralized the community. The members of it had even come to regard stagnation as the natural order of things. The place itself bore evidence to the same effect. It had a ruined and forlorn appearance; its silent walls were overgrown with jungle; and whilst the swift stream of the Hooghly carried past it eastern merchandise intended for the rivals who were converting the mud huts of Sutanuti into the substantial warehouses of old Caloutta, the landing places of Chandernagore were comparatively deserted.

"To govern a settlement thus fallen into a state of passive and assenting decrepitude, Dupleix was deputed in 1731. He saw, almost at a glance, the capabilities of the place, and, conscious of his own abilities, having tried and proved at Pondicherry his ideas regarding the power of trade, he felt that the task of restoring Chandernagore, would, under his system, be comparatively easy. He at once set in action the large fortune he had accumulated, and induced others to join in the venture. He bought ships, freighted cargoes, opened communications with the interior, attracted native merchants to the town. Chandernagore soon felt the effect of her master's hand. Even the subordinates whom he found there, recovering, under the influence of his example, from their supineness, begged to be allowed to join in the

* Letter of Mr. M. Sterling, Collector of Hooghly, dated 29th July 1842, L.c. Townsman's Sketch, p. 15.

trade. Dupleix had room for all. To some he advanced money, others he took into partnership, all he encouraged. He had not occupied the Intendantship four years, when, in place of the half-dozen country-boats which, on his arrival, were lying unemployed at the landing-place, he had at sea thirty or forty ships, a number which increased before his departure to seventy-two, engaged in conveying the merchandise of Bengal to Surat, to Jeddah, to Mocha, to Bussora, and to China. Nor did he neglect the inland trade. He established commercial relations with some of the principal cities in the interior, and even opened communications with Tibet. Under such a system, Chandernagore speedily recovered from its forlorn condition. From having been the most inconsiderable, it became, in a few years, the most important and flourishing of the European settlements in Bengal.”*

After the departure of Dupleix on transfer to Pondicherry (1741), the Marāthā raids, the unsettled condition of the country, want of funds and lack of vigour on the part of his successors, all combined to reduce the trade of the French in Bengal. There is ample proof of its decline. For instance, M. Renault, the Governor of Chandernagore, in a letter to Dupleix dated 30th September 1757, stated that when he took charge of the factory (in 1754?), it was in debt to the extent of 26 or 27 lakhs, but that by exercising his personal credit he managed to send back the next year three ships laden with rich cargoes. Again, in a letter of the Dutch Council at Hooghly to their Supreme Council at Batavia, dated 24th November 1756, it is said that the French “have done no business these last few years”;‡ and in another letter to the Assembly in Holland, dated 2nd January 1757, they wrote that “what the French are about to send by Pandichery and the Danes by Tranquebara, will be of but trifling importance.”§

(In 1756, when war threatened to break out between the French and the English, the European garrison at Chandernagore numbered only 112 officers and men.) The French attempted to finish one of the bastions of Fort Orleans which had been begun in Ali Vardi’s time (1750); while the English on their part began to clear out the Marāthā ditch and repair the fortifications close to Fort William. Thereupon Siraj-ud-daulā sent orders to both to demolish the works. The French Agent, M. Law, persuaded the Nawāb that they were merely repairing old works; but the

* G. Malleson. *The Rise of the French Power in India*, Calcutta Review, 1868.

† *Bengal in 1756-57*, III, 258.

‡ *Id.*, I, 807.

§ *Id.*, II, 83.

English Agent at Calcutta, Mr. Drake, sent a reply, which the Nawab chose to regard as offensive and impertinent.* As is well known, the rupture with the English ended in the capture of Calcutta and the massacre of the Black Hole. Both Siraj-ud-daula and the English applied for help to the French, who declined to side with either party, but offered to shelter the English in their fort. While on his march to Calcutta, the Nawab forcibly took the French boats to transport his men across the Ganges, and on his return he levied from them a fine of Rs. 3,40,000.† This sum they paid on receiving three lakhs sent from France by the Company in the ship *Saint Contest*.‡

In December 1756 news came that war had been declared between France and England. Two French Deputies visited Calcutta on the 4th January 1757 and asked Admiral Watson his intentions regarding neutrality. The Admiral offered them an alliance, offensive and defensive, against the Nawab. This they declined, on which the Admiral replied that he would be "forced to try his luck." Next month the Nawab concluded a treaty with the English, and on his way back past Chandernagore, sent friendly messages to M. Renault, repaid him one lakh out* of the fine he had levied, granted the French a *paricâna* with all the privileges allowed to the British, and even offered them the town of Hooghly if they would ally themselves with him. The French took the money, but declined the alliance. The English believed, however, that they had a secret alliance with Siraj-ud-daula and determined to crush the French before attacking the Nawab. Futile negotiations followed, and the English, having received reinforcements, resolved to declare war. On 11th March Clive charged the French with sheltering British deserters, and next day marched to within 2 miles of Chandernagore, sending a summons to M. Renault to surrender, to which the latter sent no reply. On the 14th, Clive read out the declaration of war and began the siege.

The fort was ill-prepared for an attack, being short in men, guns, ammunition and engineering officers, while the area to be defended was large. M. Renault could muster with great difficulty 237 soldiers (including 45 pensioners and sick), 120 sailors, 70 half-castes and private Europeans, 100 civilians, 167 sepoyes and 100 topassea, in all 794 men. After the loss of their outposts, the French withdrew into the fort and made a gallant defence, repulsing several attacks. On the river side the French had blocked the channel with four ships and a hulk. Admiral Watson came

* Bengal in 1756-57, III, 165.

† Bengal in 1756-57, I, 210.

‡ Bengal in 1756-57, III, 253.

up to help in the attack, with a fleet consisting of the *Kent*, the *Tiger* and the *Salisbury*, with the *Bridgewater* and the *Kingfisher*. On the 23rd they moved through the sunken ships, along buoys carefully laid the previous day; and at about 7 A.M. the *Tiger* and the *Kent* took up their position opposite the north-east and south-east bastions. Then ensued a sharp but short cannonade between the ships and the fort batteries, while Clive's troops attacked from the land side. The *Kent* was so terribly damaged as to be unfit for sea again, and the *Salisbury* was almost as bad; but the fort bastions were completely breached, and the French gunners were almost all killed. Consequently, M Renault at about 9.30 A.M. hoisted the white flag. Articles of capitulation were agreed upon, and were signed by Admirals Watson and Pocock, and also by Clive, after some objections on Admiral Watson's part to Clive being associated with him. A number of the French escaped to Serampore and Chinsura, and some joined M Law at Cossimbazar. The rest were allowed parole, but eventually, on the ground of having broken their parole, were imprisoned in Calcutta.* The capture of Chandernagore was of immense importance to the British both by clearing the way for the final settlement with the Nawâb and also by providing them with a large supply of guns and ammunition; the loot alone is said to have been sold for £130,000.

In 1765 Chandernagore was restored to the French represented by John Law of Lauriston, Commandant of the French establishment in the East Indies. It was restored in accordance with a treaty between Great Britain, France and Spain concluded at Paris in 1763, which contained the proviso that the French engaged "not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops, in any part of the Soubah of Bengal" (Article XI)†. The English were strict on this point, and Stavorinus (1769-70) relates how M. Chevalier, the French Governor, who had caused a deep ditch to be dug round the town, was forced to have it filled up by an English engineer aided by 800 sepoys.‡ The French were, however, allowed to keep a certain small number of guns for saluting, and to hoist their flag over their factory.‡

Late in 1768, or early in 1769, the French appear to have had a quarrel with the Nawâb, in which they certainly came off worst. It is described as follows by Colonel Pearse in a letter dated 23rd

* *Bengal in 1756-57*, II, 812. The French had 40 killed and 70 wounded, the British 32 killed and 99 wounded (Admiral Watson's letter dated the 31st March 1757).

† *Grose*, II, 477-8.

‡ *Voyages*, I, 529-30, III, 70.

February 1769 :—“The French had shipped off a great deal of money ; and order was issued forbidding that any should be sent off from the country. The Nabob of Bengal, or Patna, I do not know which, though I believe the former, ordered his peons to surround Chandernagore till it should be re-landed. The French fired on them from the ship, by which many were killed and wounded ; the consequence was the destruction of the town. The Nabob's people pulled down the houses and laid every thing in ruins. Monsieur Chevalier wrote to the Governor of Fort William, desiring that the neutrality which subsisted between the two nations, might continue (for he was determined to march against the Nabob), and that the ship might not be molested. He was answered, that if she attempted to pass, she would be fired on by the guns of the Fort. The Nabob having demanded our assistance, the ship was afterwards seized, but I hear since that she is gone. The Nabob has ordered all the French down ; trade is entirely stopped, which may perhaps end in trouble.”*

In 1778, on the outbreak of war in Europe, the English again occupied Chandernagore. Colonel Dow quietly invested the town, and then set out with a company of sepoys to Ghiretti in search of the Governor Chevalier. His wife pretended he was ill, and Dow found that he had escaped, the Commandant, Hanquart, handing over the town in his absence †. The English, however, withdrew on the conclusion of peace in 1783.

During the French Revolution the citizens of Chandernagore shared in the republican fervour of their countrymen. The Governor fled to his country house at Ghiretti, but was brought back to the town by an excited mob, which wished to copy the Parisians' march to Versailles. There he was kept a captive for some time in spite of the demands made by Lord Cornwallis for his release. Eventually, it was decided to send the royalists in chains to the Isle of France, but Cornwallis stopped the brig on which they were shipped while on its way down the Hooghly and released the captives.‡ According to another account, the Governor was refused admission to the town, and seeing no hope of any change in the sentiments of the republicans, withdrew to Calcutta and thence to Pondicherry.§ In June 1793, during the war following the revolution, Chandernagore was reoccupied by the English without opposition, and was administered by a special officer,

* *Bengal Past and Present*, July 1908, p.p. 311-12.

† Letter from Col. Dow, *Bengal Past and Present*, July 1908 pp. 391-92.

‡ *Notes on the right bank of the Hooghly*, Calcutta Review, 1848; *Chandernagore*, Cal. Rev. 1899.

§ *Selections Calcutta Gazette* under date 18th October 1793.

Mr. Richard Birch. It was restored by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, only to be seized again a few months later on the resumption of hostilities. It was then administered by the Judge-Magistrate of Hooghly, and was finally made over to the French in 1816, after having been almost uninterruptedly in British possession for 23 years. While under the British Government, Chandernagore, as well as Chinsura and Serampore, is said to have swarmed with receivers of stolen goods, cheats, swindlers and fraudulent pawnbrokers.* When Bishop Heber visited it in 1823, "the streets presented a remarkable picture of solitude and desolation", and the Bishop saw "no boats loading or unloading at the quay, no porters with burdens in the streets, no carts, no market people, and in fact only a small native bazar and a few dismal-looking European shops."

(The Prussians were another European nation that effected ^{THE} settlement in this district. This settlement was indirectly due ^{PRUSSIANS.} to the enterprise of Frederick the Great, who having gained possession of East Friesland in 1744, endeavoured to convert its capital, Embden, into a great northern port. With this object he founded, in 1753, the *Bengalische Handels-Gesellschaft* (also known as the Bengal Company of Embden, the Embden East India Company, and the Prussian Asiatic Company). The Prussians had obviously some difficulties to face before gaining a footing in Bengal. "If the Germans come here," the Nawâb wrote to the English, "it will be very bad for all the Europeans, but for you worst of all, and you will afterwards repent it; and I shall be obliged to stop all your trade and business ... Therefore take care that these German ships do not come." "God forbid that they should come," was the pious response of the President of the English Council, "but should this be the case, I am in hopes they will be either sunk, broke, or destroyed."† Still, the Prussians appear to have established themselves in the district "three or four years" before 1756,‡ on the same terms as those allowed to the Danes, viz., they might carry on their trade on payment of custom duties and hire houses for themselves and warehouses for their goods, but not erect fortifications or keep garrisons.§ Their factory appears to have been a mile south of Fort Orleans at Chandernagore,|| and had gardens attached to it, which are several times referred to as the Prussian gardens.

* Hamilton's *Hindooian* (1820).

† *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, II, 407.

‡ *Bengal in 1756-57*, I, 273.

§ *Bengal in 1756-57*, I, 117; II, 17, 28.

|| . . . Do. II, 235, 237; III, 63, 64.

The year 1756 was a disastrous one for the Prussians. In June Siraj-ud-daula extorted Rs. 5,000 from them. In August their only ship, the *Prince Henry of Prussia*, was wrecked while entering the Ganges, owing to the misconduct of an English pilot Hendrick Walters,* whom the Board dismissed for his carelessness; while the supercargoes invested the money they had brought out, to the extent of Rs. 2,50,000, with the English for homeward trade.† Their position was, in fact, so bad that Mr. John Young, the Chief of the Prussian factory, seeing himself "detested, despised and not knowing how to support himself with honour" withdrew to the English with merchandise worth Rs. 50,000.‡

After these losses, what little trade they had dwindled still further owing to the rivalry of the other European companies. Their pilots refused to serve the Prussian ships, and a letter from the English Court of Directors, dated 25th March 1757, absolutely forbade the Company's servants to have any dealings with them or give them any assistance in their mercantile affairs, though if their ships wanted water, provisions or real necessaries, they might be supplied 'in accordance with the custom of nations in amity one with the other.' The Company was soon afterwards wound up; and the Proceedings of Calcutta, dated 21st August 1760, record a letter from John Young, dated London, 18th July 1759, requesting the English to take possession of all the effects of the Royal Prussian Bengal Compaÿ §

THE FLEMISH. The Flemish also for a short time carried on trade in the district. The merchants of Ostend, Antwerp, and other towns in Flanders and Brabant appear to have endeavoured to get some share in the trade with the East Indies early in the 18th century, for in 1720, and again in 1721, they sent six ships, of which one was consigned to Bengal; their principal station was at Coblon on the coast of Coromandel. In 1722 the Ostend Company was formed, and a year later it had founded and lost a settlement on the Hooghly. Of this there is an interesting account in the *Riyâz-u-s-Salâtin*, which however confounds the Flemish with the Danes. "They had," it states, "no factory in Bengal and carried on commercial transactions through the agency of the French;" but with the assistance of the latter obtained permission from the Nawâb, Murshid Kuli Khân, to build a factory at Bânkibazar on the eastern bank of the Hooghly, and set to work to erect a strong building. The European nations feared their rivalry, for

* *Bengal in 1756-57*, I, 214, 306-7; II, 79.

† Do. II, 79. *

‡ Do. II, 179; cf. I, 62, 194.

§ Long's Selections.

" placing obliquely the cap of vanity on the head of pride, they bragged they would sell woollen-stuffs, velvet, and silk-stuffs at the rate of gunny-cloth " The other Europeans accordingly intrigued against them, and having gained over the *Faujdār* of Hooghly, got him to induce the Nawāb to order the closure of the factory. The Danes defied the Mughals, mounted cannon, and with the help of the French prepared for resistance. The *Faujdār* of Hooghly then sent a force under his Deputy Mir Jāfar (apparently the subsequent Nawāb of Bengal), which cut off their supplies. Though the Indian servants all fled, and he had only 13 men left, who were, moreover, reduced to starvation, the Chief still offered a desperate resistance. At last, he hid his arm shattered by a cannon-ball, and " was obliged, in consequence, at dead of night, to scuttle out of the factory, and, embarking on board a vessel, he set sail for his own native country. Next morning, the factory was captured ; but save and except some cannon-balls, nothing of value was found." The gateway and tower were then razed to the ground and Mir Jāfar returned in triumph to Hooghly.*

The capture of the factory took place according to Alexander Hamilton in 1723, and this date is probably correct, for Hamilton's work (*A New Account of the East Indies*) was published in 1727, being republished in 1744. It is also confirmed by two other facts, viz., (1) the whole transaction is ascribed by the *Riyāqū-s-Silāṭīn* to the time of Murshid Kuli Khān, who died in 1725, and (2) the Ostend Company had its charter suspended in 1727, and was suppressed in 1731. Stewart adds some interesting details as to the attempts of the Flemish to tap the trade of Bengal. According to his account, the first ship sent by the Company to Bengal, the *Emperor Charles*, which mounted 30 guns, was lost in going up the Ganges. The greater part of her cargo was, however, saved ; and the officers and crew took possession of Bānkibazar, and erected temporary houses. In the two following years, three ships, of a larger size than the first, arrived in Bengal, and completely established the Ostend trade in that province ; and as they undersold the other Europeans in various articles, their factory quickly rose in estimation. At first, the factors resided in houses constructed of mats and bamboos ; but they afterwards built brick dwellings, and surrounded their factory with a wall, having bastions at the angles : they also cut a ditch, communicating with the river, of such a depth as to admit sloops of considerable burthen.

* *Riyāqū-s-Silāṭīn*, pp. 276-8. Hamilton states that after being forced to quit their factory the Flemish found protection with the French at Chandernagore.

Stewart then mentions the suspension of the charter, and says that, notwithstanding this prohibition, the private merchants occasionally sent out ships to India ; and, as the agent of the head of the factory in Bengal was a person of great activity and determination, he continued to furnish them with cargoes. This traffic, although carried on clandestinely, could not escape the notice of the Dutch and English, the latter of whom sent a squadron, under the command of Captain Gosfrift of the ship *Fordwich*, to blockade the river Ganges. The Commodore sailed up the river ; and having obtained intelligence that two Ostend ships were anchored between Calcutta and Bânkibazar, despatched two of his squadron to take them. On the first shot being fired, the *Saint Theresa*, the smallest of the Ostend ships, struck her colours, was immediately taken possession of, and carried to Calcutta ; but the other slipped her cable, and took shelter under the guns of Bânkibazar factory, whither it was not deemed expedient to follow her ; and she afterwards had the good fortune to escape. Stewart then proceeds to give substantially the same account of the capture of the fort as that given above, but ascribes it to 1638.*

The Flemish appear not to have given up all hope of sharing in the trade of Bengal even after this reverse, for isolated factors are mentioned as being in existence at Bânkibazar as late as 1744.† M. Law in a letter written in 1756 refers to "the affair of the Ostend Company in 1744,"‡ and there is a curious reference in the MS. Bengal Consultations for 14th October 1744 (communicated by Mr. J. S. Cotton) showing that the Ostenders were then again expelled from Bânkibazar. This is presumably the occurrence referred to by Orme, who says, with a slight difference as to the date, that Ali Vardi Khân, "in the year 1748, on some contempt of his authority, attacked and drove the factors of the Ostend Company out of the river of Hugli."§

The mixing up of the dates of the first and second expulsion of the Ostenders has apparently caused some confusion in different accounts of their settlements ; and there has been also some confusion about the nationality of the merchant adventurers who held Bankibazar. The *Riyâsu-a-Saldîn*, for instance, ascribes the establishment and defence of the factory to the Danes. Stewart, after giving a full account of the formation of the Ostend Company and of the installation of their officers and agents at

* Stewart, *History of Bengal* (1847) pp. 268-9.

† *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, p. 466.

‡ *Bengal in 1756-57*, III, 210.

§ Orme's *History*, II, 45.

Bánkibazar, calls it the German factory and its defenders Germans. Mr. Hill also in *Bengal in 1756-57*, though he refers to Bánkibazar as being held by the servants of the Ostend Company, enters it in his Index as 'the Emden Company or Prussian settlement', and speaks of its defence by the 'Emdeners'.*

In concluding this sketch of the early European settlements VERSA-
mention may be made of the native names given to them and to CULAR
the nations which held them. The Portuguese were called NAMES.
Piringis (from Frank), their quarters *Firangi-tola*, and their soldiers "topasses", either from *top* a gun or from *topi* a hat. The Dutch were called *Olandás* from Hollandois; the French *Farāsi* and their settlement *Farāsdāngā* from Français; the English *Angrez* or *Injrez* from Anglais, or English, and the Danes *Dinemār* and their settlement *Dinemār-dāngā* from Denmark.

* *Bengal in 1756-57*, I, xxx, xxxvi; III, 210 (foot-note).

CHAPTER IV.

THE PEOPLE.

GROWTH OF POPULATION. IN 1872, when the first census of Bengal was taken, the population of the district as now constituted* was returned at 1,119,631. It decreased to 974,992 in 1881, but rose to 1,034,296 in 1891, to 1,049,041 in 1901, and to 1,090,097 in 1911.

In the nine years following the census of 1872, the population declined by no less than 13 per cent., owing mainly to the terrible epidemic of malarial fever known as Burdwān fever. The Census Commissioner for Bengal estimated the loss of population in the twelve years during which it prevailed at no less than 650,000; for, apart from actual mortality, the fever reduced the vitality of the survivors, thus diminishing the birth-rate, and also forced a number of its inhabitants to leave the district for healthier localities. "It is true," he remarked, "that this terrible epidemic did not claim so many victims in the decade which has elapsed since the census of 1872 as in that which preceded it, but the ravages of the disease have not yet been repaired, the ruined villages have not yet been rebuilt, jungle still flourishes where populous hamlets once stood, and while many of those who fled before the fever have not returned, the impaired powers of the survivors have not sufficed to fill the smiling land with a new population." The next decade witnessed a distinct recovery, the census of 1891 recording an increase of 6 per cent., though the district regained only half of the inhabitants it lost in the previous nine years. This advance was due to the general abatement of malarial fever, and in the Serampore subdivision, where it was greatest, to three special causes, viz., the reclamation of marshy swamps effected by the Dānkuni and Rajapur drainage schemes, the opening of the Tārakeswar Railway, and the establishment of five jute mills and one bone mill, which attracted immigrants.

* The Arshabagh subdivision was not included in the district in 1872; the Singti outpost of the Khākkul thāna was transferred to the Howrah district after the census of 1891; and after the census of 1901 three villages were transferred to Burdwan.

The census of 1901 revealed an increase of only 1·4 per cent, ^{Census} the Arambagh subdivision having a very small increase and the ^{of 1901.} Serampore subdivision an increase of 3·3 per cent, while the Hooghly subdivision had a slight falling-off of population. This result is due to a rise in the number of immigrants by nearly 40,000 and a diminution in the number of emigrants by over 33,000. Conditions were otherwise unfavourable, as may be gathered from the summary given in the Bengal Census Report of 1901:—

"During the last decade there have been no specially violent outbreaks of cholera or small-pox. Cholera was bad in several years, but the mortality so caused was but a small fraction of that due to fever. The country is flooded yearly by the spill of the Dāmodar. Its surface is but little above sea level, and the drainage is bad and is yearly getting worse, as the silting-up of the old streams and watercourses continues. The soil is thus water-logged to an exceptional extent. The peculiarly malignant Burdwan fever has disappeared, but even now the fevers of the district are of an unusually virulent kind. The death rate is consequently high, and in only two years of the decade have the recorded births been more numerous than the deaths . . . In spite of the immigration that has taken place, the district is still less populous by 70,000 than it was in 1872, and even then the district had suffered terribly from the fever epidemic for nearly a decade. It seems very doubtful whether it will ever fully recover its losses until the drainage problem is solved."

The main statistics of the census of 1901 are given below. Detailed statistics of the census of 1911 are not yet available.

SUBDIVISION.	Area in square miles.	NUMBER OF		Occupied houses.	POPULATION.		Variation between 1891 and 1901 in percentage.
		Towns.	Villages.		Total	Per square mile.	
Sadar or Hooghly	440	2	939	61,363	208,474	701	-0·8
Serampore . . .	343	5	783	102,734	413,178	1,205	+3·8
Arambagh , "	406	1	658	80,301	327,369	806	+0·8
District Total . . .	1,189	8	2,380	264,398	1,049,041	893	+1·6

The average density of population is very high, being surpassed ^{Density,} in only three districts in the Province, viz., Howrah, Muzaffarpur and Saran; while the Serampore subdivision, with more than twelve hundred souls per square mile, supports a more teeming population than any district except the metropolitan district of Howrah. Moreover, the district contains a large quantity of waste and uncultivable lands, and the pressure of population on

the cultivated portion is therefore all the greater; but it is not as yet excessive owing to the general prosperity of the people, the fertility of the soil, and the industrial expansion which has been so marked a feature of the economic history of Hooghly in the last 50 years. The lands under cultivation yield rich crops of different kinds, for which a ready market and good prices can be obtained owing to the proximity of the metropolis. A large proportion of the people, moreover, obtain their livelihood in non-agricultural pursuits; and the organized industries of the district afford them ample employment and good wages.

In the Arambagh subdivision, the population is evenly distributed, rising from 736 per square mile in the laterite tract of thāna Goghat to 894 in the fertile alluvial thāna of Khānakul. The density in the Serampore subdivision is not so uniform. The Serampore thāna is the most thickly populated, including, as it does, five municipalities along the Hooghly with numerous mills and other industries, and having easy communication with Calcutta and Howrah by rail, river and road. This portion is thoroughly urban, with an average of 4,255 per square mile. Behind it stretches thāna Chanditalā, a semi-urban tract, which supports 1,381 persons per square mile. In this thāna there are populous villages crowded along the Saraswati, and it is also drained by the Dānkuni and Rājapur drainage channels, and is traversed by the old Benāres road and the Howrah-Shiakhālā Railway. In the other three thānas of this subdivision the pressure on the soil is more evenly distributed, density varying only from 843 in the rather backward thāna of Haripal to 923 per square mile in thāna Singur lying just behind Serampore.

In the Hooghly subdivision there are marked variations. The most densely-peopled part is the Hooghly thāna with the two municipalities of Hooghly and Bansberia. It is practically a continuation of the riparian municipal tract, and has a density of 1,826 per square mile. The other thānas vary considerably. The low deltaic thāna of Balāgarh and the feverish rural thāna of Polbā have only 538 and 543 persons per square mile, respectively, while there are 708 per square mile in the fertile though unhealthy thāna of Dhaniakhāli. Broadly speaking, the inhabitants cluster most thickly along the Hooghly river up to Tribeni, while in the interior the density is greatest in the south and diminishes slowly towards the north and the west, the most populous villages lying on the banks of old streams, such as the Saraswati, the Kānā Nadi, the Dāmodar (east bank), and the Kānā Dwārakeswar.

Migration. The statistics compiled at the census of 1901 show that migration from and to this district is unusually active, 11.7 per cent. of the

population being emigrants and 13·3 per cent. immigrants. Among emigrants, i.e., natives of this district enumerated elsewhere, seven-twelfths were males, the bulk of whom had migrated to the metropolis and the adjoining districts of Howrah and the 24-Parganas. Such emigration is largely of a temporary nature, many clerks, shop-keepers and workmen taking advantage of the facilities afforded by the railway to return home daily or periodically on Sundays and holidays. On the whole, the volume of emigration is decreasing, the total number of emigrants falling from 156,241 in 1891 to 122,841 in 1901.

On the other hand, the volume of immigration is increasing, both because of the increasing demand for residence in places from which Calcutta is easily accessible and still more because of the labour attracted by the local mills, brick-fields and other industrial concerns. The number of immigrants increased from 99,994 in 1891 to 139,714 in 1901, the bulk being labourers, as is apparent from the preponderance of males (81,823) over females (57,891). The places which contributed most largely to this influx are Bankura (44,289), Midnapore (16,116), Patna Division (17,615), and the United Provinces (12,069). To these immigrant coolies are due the large increase of 17·3 per cent. in Serampore thana and the small increase of 1·9 per cent. in Chanditala thana.

The district may be divided into three tracts, urban, semi-^{Towns}
urban and rural. Broadly speaking, the urban tract consists of ^{and}
villages. the narrow riparian strip between the Hooghly on the east and the railway on the west. The French town of Chandernagore and all the municipal towns, except Arambagh, lie in one continuous line in this strip, viz., from Tribeni southwards Bansberia, Hooghly (including Chinsura), Bhadreswar, Baidyabati, Serampore, Kotrang and Uttarpurā. The eighth municipality, Arambagh, is really a con-

Arambagh	...	8,048
Bhadreswar	...	24,353
Baidyabati	...	20,516
Bansberia	...	6,108
Hooghly-cum-Chinsura	...	28,916
Kotrang	...	6,574
Serampore	...	49,594
Uttarpurā	...	7,373

geries of villages and has been constituted a municipality, as being the headquarters of a subdivision rather than a place with urban characteristics. The population of each of these towns,

according to the census of 1911, is shown in the margin.

Of the seven towns on the Hooghly, Bansberia and Hooghly are now decadent, having been supplanted as commercial centres by Calcutta and Howrah. Of the other five, Bhadreswar and, Serampore are thriving towns, which are growing rapidly owing to their proximity to the metropolis and to the development

of jute mills and other industrial concerns Serampore is now the most important town in the district, having added 40 per cent. to its population between 1881 and 1891, 20 per cent in the next decade, and nearly 12 per cent. between 1901 and 1911. Bhadreswar, though barely a third of the size of Serampore, has of late expanded ever more rapidly, and has more than doubled its population since 1891. Baidyabati is an important mart for vegetables and other garden produce, while Uttarpārā and Kotrang to the south are small quiet semi-suburban towns; the former is inhabited by a considerable number of *bhadraloy*, i.e., Hindus of the middle class, and the latter is a centre for the manufacture of tiles and bricks.

Behind and to the west of this riparian tract lies the semi-urban area with a number of populous villages fringing the high banks of the Saraswati from Magrāganj on the north to Chanditalā on the south. In spite of epidemics of malaria, the density in this tract has long been high; and in recent years it has benefited from the establishment of mills in the adjoining riparian tract, which has converted localities which were formerly petty villages into thriving suburban towns. It has also benefited through the interior being opened up by the Howrah-Shiakhālā, Tārakeswar and Tribeni-Tārakeswar railway lines, while the general health has improved by the draining of marshes in the south and by the admission of a little water into the Saraswati itself by a cut from the Kunti Nadi. The rest of the district including Arambāgh, is more or less rural, containing, however, many populous villages.

According to the census of 1901, the proportion of the population (20 per cent.) living in towns is higher than in any other Bengal district, while the villages are also unusually large, for 51 per cent. have 500 to 2,000 inhabitants and only one-third (34 per cent.) contain less than 500.

The dialect in common use is that known as Central Bengali or Metropolitan, which forms the basis of modern literary Bengali and is so called because it is the vernacular of the metropolitan districts, viz., Howrah, the 24-Parganās, Hooghly and Nadia. The Muhammadans usually talk Bengali, but the better educated often use Urdū, though in a more or less corrupt form. West of the Dwarakeswar, the current speech is affected by the Rāṛhi dialect of Bankurā and Burdwān, the pronunciation being somewhat different, and the intonation crisper. The existence of European settlements in the district for centuries has left little mark on the vocabulary and practically none on the grammar.

The history of vernacular literature in this district can be traced as far back as Akbar's time, when Madhabacharya, the author of *Chandi*, flourished at Tribeni. Since then Hooghly has produced some notable writers, e.g., in the British period, Rammohan Ray, Piari Chand Mitra, Bhudeva Chandra Mukherji, Hem Chandra Banerji, Chaudra Nath Basu, and Akhay Chandra Sarkar. Several well known composers of songs have also been born in the district, e.g., Auliya Manohar Das, Ramuidhi Gupta alias Nidhi Babu, Sridhara Kathaka, Anthony Firingi, and Govinda Adhikari.

Hindus at the census of 1901 numbered 861,116 or 82 per cent of the population, and Muhammadans 184,577 or 17·5 per cent RELIGIONS. Members of other religions were few in number, viz., Animists (2,766), Christians (759), Brahmos (26), Jains (25), Buddhists (6) and Sikhs (4). The proportion of Hindus has increased slightly, being 78·23 per cent in 1872, 81·25 in 1881, 81·50 in 1891 and 82·0 in 1901. On the other hand, the percentage of Muhammadans has decreased slightly, falling from 21·61 in 1872 to 18·64 in 1881, 17·89 in 1891 and 17·5 in 1901.

The animistic tribes, though they have few representatives, Animists. have been steadily increasing. In 1872 they were not enumerated separately; in 1881 only 37 Santals were returned; and in 1891, when a more careful classification was made, 2,035 persons were returned as Santals and 19 as members of other tribes. In 1901, Santals had increased to 9,955, Oraons to 3,460, Bhumijes to 1,761 and Khairas to 1,530. A part of this increase may be due to better enumeration, but the bulk is undoubtedly caused by immigration. The Santals congregate chiefly in thanas Dhaniakhali, Pandua and Haripal; the Bhumij in thana Balagarh; the Khairas in thana Pandua. As there are nearly as many females as men among them, it may be presumed that they have settled permanently in those tracts. The case is different with the Oraons, who at the time of the census were found chiefly in thanas Serampore, Chanditala and Singur. There was a marked disproportion between the sexes, viz., 213 females to 3,247 males, which goes to show that they were merely temporary immigrants who had come to work in the mills and on earthwork. The discrepancy between the number of aborigines and the number of Animists is due to the fact that all the Bhumij and Khairas, and most of the Oraons and Santals, were returned as Hindus and not Animists.

The Christian community in 1901 included 192 Europeans, 94 Christians. Eurasians and 473 native Christians,—a small number, considering the fact that Serampore was long the headquarters of the Baptist

misionaries, and that there were European settlements along the Hooghly for more than two centuries. The majority were residents of the towns of Serampore (466) and Hooghly (219); of the remainder, most were enumerated in the rural thāna of Panduā, where the Free Church of Scotland has a missionary centre at Mahānād. The majority of the Europeans were members of the Anglican communion; of the Eurasians, more than half were Roman Catholics; and of the native Christians, 193 were Baptists, 136 Presbyterians and 60 Roman Catholics. The Eurasians are decreasing owing to migration to Calcutta, Howrah and Chandernagore.

The Baptist Mission maintains a college at Serampore and a training school for native pastors. The United Free Church Mission has a high English school attached to the mission house at Chinsura and another school on the hospital road, as well as a zanāna mission house in Hooghly. There are also four outstations, viz., at Tribeni, at Inchura in thāna Balāgarh, at Sonāigri near Sultāngāchhā in thāna Polbā and at Mahānād, where it keeps up a small dispensary and school. The Prior of Bāndel manages a school for Catholics, which is attended by about 75 boys.

Muham-
madans. Sūtgaon and subsequently Hooghly were long the headquarters of Mughal Governors; and many Muhammadans were consequently attracted to the district. Their descendants are now mostly found in the Hooghly subdivision, particularly in thānas Hooghly, Panduā, Balāgarh and Dhaniakhāli. A few also, who received grants of land, made their homes along the old Saraswati in thāna Chanditalā and round Mandāran in thāna Goghāt, where their descendants are known as *aimaddās* (from *aima*, a grant). At the census of 1901 the bulk of the Muhammadans were returned as Sheikhs, their number being 162,632, while there were 3,699 Pathāns and 2,732 Saiyads. A few were returned as Ajlāf or low-class (1,180), Bediyā or gipaias (578), Dhāwā or fishermen (1,499), Mallik or soldier's descendants (2,694); but more (6,079) continued to call themselves Jolāhā or weavers.

Sheikhs. The Sheikhs account for more than 88 per cent. of the total number of Muhammadans. They are found in all thānas, and it is believed that many of them are descendants of Hindu converts, who assumed this title in order to establish a claim to respectability.

Ashraf. Among the Muhammadans of Hooghly there are a few Ashraf or high class families. Those entitled to this designation are chiefly found at Panduā and Hooghly in the Sadar subdivision at Phurphuri, Sitāpur and Bandipur in the Serampore subdivision and at Mandāran in the Arambagh subdivision. Marriages

between them and the Ajlaf or lower classes are not interdicted by religion, but, as a matter of practice, do not take place, unless the Ajlaf bridegroom happens to be rich or learned. The Aahrāf do not ordinarily sit or eat with the Ajlaf or engage in any profession or trade which is considered undignified or degrading, but tailoring is not despised.

The Jolahās or weavers, and the Kabaris (Kunjrās) or vegetable-sellers, rank very low, and no Ashraf will ordinarily marry with them. They follow several Hindu customs. They marry within their own respective castes, excommunicate members for social offences, which may, however, be atoned for by a feast given to their fellow castemen, and use cow-dung to plaster the floor, like Hindus. Jolahās also join the Shias, and beat drums, in the Muharram procession.

More than four-fifths of the population are Hindus, distributed ^{Hindus.} among numerous castes and semi-Hinduized tribes. At the census of 1901, the following castes and tribes were returned as numbering more than 10,000:—Bāgdis, Vaishnavas, Bāuris, Brāhmans, Doma, Goalās, Kaibarttas, Kāmārs, Kāyasths, Keorās, Muchis, Nāpīta, Sādgops, Tāntis and Telias.

The Brāhmans number (in 1901) 72,906, excluding degraded Brāhmans. Brāhmaṇas such as Agrādānis, Patīts, or Daivajnas. Including the latter, the numerical strength of this caste is practically the same as it was 20 years before being 76,271 in 1881 and 76,317 in 1901. A few immigrants have been attracted by the sanctity of the river Bhāgirathi or by the prospects of employment in the various mills and factories, but more appear to have left the district to work in Calcutta, Howrah and other places. The Brāhmans of Hooghly belong mostly to the Rāṛhi sub-caste, so called from residence in the old territorial division of Rāṛhi. The current tradition is that they are descended from five learned Brāhmans brought from Kanauj by King Adisur in the 11th century, because he found the local Brāhmans too ignorant to perform Vedic ceremonies. But this theory is doubtful, as in the following century Hākyudha, the Brāhmaṇ minister of Lakshmana Sena, stigmatized the Rāṛhiya Brāhmans as ignorant of Vedic rites.*

The most remarkable of their social customs is Kulīnism or the system of hypergamy. The origin of this system, is described as follows in the *Kāla-pāñjikā*, or chronicles of the genealogists. Dhārāsura, king of Rāṛhi, divided the Rāṛhi Brāhmans into three classes, viz., (1) Mukhya Kulins or 'the best, (2)

* M. M. Chakravarti, *Sanskrit Literature during the Sena Rule*, J. A. S. S. 1908, p. 176.

Gauna Kulins or the lower class, and (3) Srotriyas or the ordinary 'hearers.' The Gauna Kulins were excluded from the high class of Kulins by Lakshmana Sena, and, mixing with Srotriyas, were further subdivided into (a) Susiddha or highly approved, (i) Siddha or the approved, (c) Sādhya or capable of being approved, and (d) Ari or inimical. Of the original Kulins, only fourteen *gāns* or headmen of villages were considered pure by king Ballala Sena. Three of the fourteen Gauna Kulins became Siddha, four Sādhya, and seven Ari; while the thirty-seven original *gāns* of Srotriyas were treated as Susiddha.

In course of time, during the Musalman rule, when there was no longer a Hindu king to control the social system, great changes took place in their social organization. In the 16th century, Devibar Ghatak, an influential genealogist of Jessor, aided by the Hindu landlords, systematized several of the changes which had taken place among the Kulins. The original Kulin families were now subdivided into *Svabhāva* or originally pure, Bhanga or broken, and Bansaja or those born of ordinary families, i.e., those who had lost all Kulinism. These families were further brought under 36 *mels* or groups, named either after the clan ancestor, such as Sarvānandī or Gopāl Ghataki, or after the clan village, such as Phuliyā or Khardah. The Kulins were also restricted to marriage within their respective *mels*, thus forming endogamous groups; but they continued to be subject to the old rule of marriage outside their respective *gotras* and even *gāns*, a Mukherji giving his daughter not to another Mukherji but to some Chatterji or Banerji, subject to his not being a close relative. A Kulin girl could thus marry only a Kulin boy of her own *mel*; on the other hand, a Kulin boy could marry not only a Kulin girl of the same *mel*, but also a Srotriya girl. If he married a girl of a Bhanga or Bansaja family, he became a Bhanga, but the family into which he married would have an accession of dignity.†

The artificial restrictions in favour of a Kulin bridegroom naturally gave rise to great difficulties in effecting the marriage of Kulin girls and also of non-Kulin Rārhi girls. The competition for Kulin husbands on the part of the non-Kulin classes was as strong as before, while the proportionate number of pure Kulins had been reduced by the loss of those who had become Bhangas and Bansajas. The result was that polygamy came into fashion. It became popular with Kulins because the accident of birth enabled them to earn a good income; it was accepted

† *Gauda Brāhmaṇa*, by Mahima Chandra Majumdar, pp. 166-167, 173, 176, 181-2.

by the parents of the girls as offering the only means of complying with the requirements of their social code. Matrimony thus became a sort of profession, and the Kulin husband did not have the trouble and expense of maintaining and looking after his wives, for they were generally left in their parents' homes after marriage.

With the spread of education and the growth of educated public opinion, the custom of polygamy has practically died out in West Bengal. The anxiety of parents to marry their daughters to Kulins or Bhargas is still strong, but qualifications other than that of birth are now looked for, e.g., education, ability, etc. The number of members of many *mels* has, however, fallen off, and as large sums are demanded and have to be paid for a suitable bridegroom, the marriage problem is a hard one for a parent unlucky enough to have a large family. Indirectly, the paucity of bridegrooms is having a good effect, for it is forcing up the marriageable age of girls, subject, however, to the pre-existing rule regarding puberty. The *mels* are also being slowly intermingled owing to the evasion of restrictions by educated Brāhmans leading a town life.

Numerically the Bāgdis are the strongest caste in the district, Bāgdis, and their number has been steadily rising, viz., from 134,115 in 1881 to 188,723 in 1901. This increase is due partly to the influx of Bāgdi coolies from outside, partly to the more complete inclusion of several sub-castes, many of whom were probably enumerated among other castes in previous censuses, and partly to the fecundity of Bāgdi women and the comparative ease with which outsiders are admitted into the caste. They congregate chiefly in the west, viz., in the Arāmbāgh subdivision and in the adjoining thānas of Kristanagar, Haripāl, Polbā and Dhaniākhāli. The name Bāgdi is said to be derived from the old territorial division of Bāgri. Their distribution tends to show that they migrated into this district from the west. This inference is corroborated by the fact that further east, i.e., in Nadia and the 24-Parganas, their social rank is low, while to the west they have a better status, e.g., in Bānkurā a number are *sardār ghātāls*, and in Mānbhūm some zamindārs are believed to be Bāgdis by descent. The eastern movement also tends to Hinduize them more completely. For example, in Bānkurā, Mānbhūm and the northern Feudatory States of Orissa, Bāgdis practice both infant and adult marriage, and in the latter case sexual intercourse before marriage is tolerated. In Hooghly, on the other hand, infant marriage is the rule and adult marriage the exception; while east of the Bhāgirathi the

Bāgdis assume complete ignorance of the custom of adult marriage. Divorce is less common in the east than in the west ; while members of the Tentuliā section, chiefly found in Hooghly, do not allow widows to re-marry, do not take beef, and do not usually admit into their circle members of higher castes, as those further west do. Brāhmanical influence is traceable also in the period of mourning, which is 31 days among the Tentuliās and Kusmetiās, as among other Sudrās, but is 13 days among the Trayodasaś (as their name signifies) and 11 days only among the Nodās, as in Orissa.

Socially the Tentuliās rank highest and then the Duliās ; in this district, though not *jalācharaniya*, Ganges water can be taken from them, while their touch does not defile in the case of dry things or liquids, like oil and *ghi*. The lowest in the social scale are the Nodās, with whom the other sub-castes do not intermarry. Excepting the Nodās, who are generally fishmongers and Mānjhis or Dandamānjhis, who are usually boatmen and fishermen, the bulk of the sub-castes in this district work as landless labourers or are nomadic cultivators. Many Duliās, however, still carry *dulis* (palanquins) or catch fish ; while many Tentuliās and Kasaikuliās work as masons or prepare lime for chewing with betel-leaf. A number of Tentuliās and Duliās are also employed as servants, especially in non-Brāhman houses. Mr. W. B. Oldham, formerly Collector of Burdwan, has surmised that the Bāgdis formed "the section of the Mal who accepted life and civilization in the cultivated country as serfs and co-religionists of the Aryans".

Kaibarttas. Next to the Bagdis, the Kaibarttas are the most numerous caste in Hooghly. Their number has been gradually rising, viz., from 142,526 in 1881 to 156,886 in 1901. The main caste of eastern Midnapore, they have overflowed into the districts of Howrah and Hooghly on the west, and across the Bhāgirathi river into the 24-Parganas, Nadia and Murshidabād on the east. Naturally, therefore, the Kaibarttas congregate chiefly in the south of this district, viz., in thānas Khānākul and Arāmbagh, Chanditalā, Haripāl and Singur, and many also have settled in the low riparian tract of Balāgarh thāna. The great majority returned themselves at the census of 1901 as Chāsi or cultivators, and only 5 per cent as Jeliyā or fishers. Except a very few who call themselves Tutiyā from their cultivation of mulberry, the Chāsi Kaibarttas in Hooghly have no real endogamous groups, but are merely subdivided territorially into Uttar-Rāhi and Dakhin-Rāhi (north and south Rāhi). Most follow Vaishnavism with Gosain as Guru or spiritual guide. Generally